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PROBLEMS OF THE SEXES

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BY

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A FEW PRELIMINARY IDEAS

NEVER, at any period of history, have problems so serious and complex confronted mankind. The Great Revolution had made a breach in the citadel which shielded the feelings, the thoughts, and the principles of our existence. The emancipation of personality and the release of our minds from the fetters that bound them for ages, have brought about the complete subversion of the ancient traditions that cemented the lives of nations and individuals. Everything has been again called in question. Doubtless it will require several centuries to realise the adequacy of the new foundations of life. Witnesses of the most thrilling drama which has ever been performed in history, we do not sufficiently appreciate either the greatness of the actors and stage managers or the touching spectacle of the victims.

I

An extraordinary tension of mind is manifesting itself in every department of our activity. While the learning and courage of men are bearing us swiftly toward heaven, the sociologists and thinkers wish to bring heaven back to earth. Human brains, by their discoveries, are helping us to a knowledge of unsuspected mysteries; philosophers are seeking the solution

of the most disturbing problems; psychology is drawing near the most hidden causes of our thoughts, and the friends of humanity are striving to banish from our planet war, as old as the existence of organised beings upon the earth.

We want to compel fortune to smile on every one, and are striving to emancipate ourselves from the cruelties of life, old age, poverty, and unhappiness.

Man is aiming to realise for himself what the gods had never dared nor wished to accomplish: happiness and harmony on this earth of ours. All happy through all and for the benefit of all!

These things are mere Utopias! clamour the sceptics. The time is close at hand, the enthusiasts answer them. The effort has sublime beauty, we maintain, even though it should lead to disappointment. Man is great especially through the loftiness of his desires, the immensity of his will. Progress is due solely to dissatisfaction with the existing condition of things.

Besides, we shall never ask enough of life, whose possibilities extend farther than our audacious dreams.

If it often shows itself deaf to our appeals, it is because we do not know how to speak to it. Above all, we ask from it impossible, and therefore unrealisable, things. Thus we have proclaimed the charter of man, while forgetting that of woman. Disdaining the law of equilibrium, we have wished to make one half of the human race ascend very high and have left the other very low.

Slavery has been able to adapt itself to the fortune and the happiness of the masters, because the defrauders and the defrauded lived in different regions. But woman is our eternal and inevitable companion.

Thus the ascent of man has been arrested by the immobility of woman. And, while he was rushing toward Paradise, his sins, in the form of the sufferings and iniquities imposed upon women, held him down and still bind him to earth. Like the hero of the tale in the *Arabian Nights*, he sees himself brought back to his pallet after the days of an imaginary reign. Sobered, he recalls to his consciousness her whom during his starry voyage he had forgotten.

Let us not doubt it: the elimination of the majority of the woes that overwhelm us must depend in the first place upon ourselves.

All those who are familiar with my writings[1] have been able to discover how much the majority of evils, including those that notwithstanding their imaginative origin are very real, disturb, unsettle, and poison our existence.

We all love life and tremble before death. Yet we allow ourselves to be dominated and tyrannised over by fears of the end, and live only half of our existence.

Happiness depends solely upon ourselves. Our will has at its disposal boundless treasures of felicity. Now we have transported the burden of our lives outward, and we draw our happiness from things that are not within our power. Thus we have transformed ourselves

[1] See *La Philosophie de la Longévité* ("Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine," edition xii); *Le Préjugé des Races* (*idem*, edition iii); *La Science du Bonheur* (edition vii). This last volume, revised and considerably enlarged, will appear in the "Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine." The four works, including *Préjugé et Problème des Sexes*, will thus be found animated by the same general idea. Conceived with the view of combating the principal data of the pessimist philosophy, they form, while remaining independent of one another, a complete survey of the morality and philosophy of life.

from what we were destined to be—masters—into slaves.

We never have strength enough to struggle against our fate. And instead of holding out brotherly hands, mortals have not ceased to stain the earth with blood by their fratricidal conflicts. *Les Préjugés des Races*, based upon the dissimilarity—ephemeral as it is—of their bodies and physiological endowments, have helped to divide men, as if they were merely herds of animals. Superior and inferior races; yellow, white, or black men devour and fight each other as if the world were not rich and large enough to afford the wherewithal to live satisfactorily.

And this the inconceivable thing: that in his ascent toward greater liberty, equality, and happiness, man has seemed to forget, until these latter years, his constant companion, her to whom he owes his existence and the better portion of his "ego," and without whom Paradise would be to him worse than Hades.

II

While from the biological standpoint he left behind him, millions of years ago, monosexual generation, the symbol of recoil, degeneracy, and static life, he has desired to preserve this in the social, political, and international organisation. Now, it is solely to the collaboration of the two sexes that we owe the variety, the richness, and the flowering of our physiological being. It is also to their social and political co-operation that we shall some day owe the diminution, if not the disappearance, of the misfortunes that poison the lives of individuals, nations, and mankind.

Besides the evils resulting from mistaken views of death, of the inequality of human beings, and of a false conception of happiness, there is a source no less fertile, whence flow the elements of general dissatisfaction, and that is the prejudices of sex. In its domain, the seeds of division and hatred have grown with equal vigour. By believing themselves of unequal importance, the two sexes have erected between themselves, for centuries, barriers of falsehoods. Owing to the persistent failure of the sexes to understand one another, there has resulted mutual distrust, hatred, and scorn. The entire march of civilisation was erroneously impressed by it. Two travellers who must take a long journey together, can do so only on condition of complete harmony. The day that one arrogates unjustifiable rights over the other, the charm will be impaired. The attainment of the goal of the journey will be jeopardised. Instead of a partner animated by duty and aware of danger, man has preferred to have by his side a shadow or a slave. And, when his companion's will did not descend to the level of nonentity, he was roused to great wrath, and the woman experienced great sufferings. Often gentle and resigned, she suffered also in her isolation. It was vain to bestow upon her the title of queen or goddess, and leave her to idle or mope within her dwelling! A human being, she suffered from her degradation, and she suffers still.

"Can the queen walk in this narrow domain, with smiling lips and cloudless brow, when she knows that beyond these rose-covered walls the wild grass to the horizon is torn by the death struggles of men, and submerged by the streams of their blood?"

The treasure of joy and happiness our fate contains is thus wasted in idle quarrels between the sexes, caused by lack of comprehension of their mutual value. For woman, abased by man, had abased him in his turn. They are like two wrestlers, who, seeking to conquer each other, are both thrown to the ground.

III

The times have brought some remedy for the evil.

Between the grosser conceptions of former centuries and those of our days, the difference is visible. New ideas are being produced. Like spring flowers, they are emerging through the thick layer of leaves that encumber the road.

Yet, beneath the purified and ennobled forms of such ideas, the prejudices of sex do not cease to besiege our minds. Observe these more closely: by dint of the vexations of life, they are reborn and resume their earlier form. Though quiescent, they are not dead. Like the divinities of Greece, they have a double shape. From their former existence they have preserved certain inhuman qualities, which persist in the depths of our ideas of woman and women. Greek civilisation vainly softened the formidable outlines of the gods and goddesses which came from the barbaric religions of Asia. The divinities instinctively reassumed the stamp of their origin. Proserpine is snatched from her bed of flowers and resumes the dark throne of Hades; the chaste, beautiful, and invisible Diana becomes the monstrous Hecate, the foe of light; Aphrodite vanishes in the voluptuous mysteries of Astarte, and Bacchus himself, under the name of Zagreus, pours forth blood, instead of joy and life.

Beneath the veneer of more modern ideas are dormant in like manner our ancient conceptions of woman's inferiority. Erroneous, they have become almost innate. We sometimes renounce them through a sort of gallantry toward the weak, but rarely because we consider them profoundly unjust. The essence of falsehood thus mingled in the evolution of our life, often gives it false appearances by causing misfortunes that are almost always needless.

IV

The object of this work is to emphasise many errors that direct and animate the life and the relations of the two sexes. We must combat certain superstitions and joyfully bury others. In redeeming the territory invaded and devoured by tares we shall help to reconstitute the future city, where the divine harmony will be found established between the two halves of the human race, heretofore often hostile and almost always divided. The dignity of both sexes will be remarkably enhanced, and their happiness adorned and increased.

Do we remember the touching conversation between St. Augustine and his mother at Ostia? Both, with eyes enraptured by the immensity of the celestial scene, rise in thought from star to star, to the abode of God, which they are able to discover thanks to their deep love for humanity and for all created things.

This is the divine reward also awaiting man and woman, when they oppose to the misfortunes of life love, justice, and the solidarity of their sexes.

In the outcry of man complaining of his existence, there are as many of the stifled tears of women as of the

reactions of his own suffering. The earth, this fragment of the vast heavens given to us for our lifetime by the Eternal Principle of things, has often, through our own fault, become a dismal cavern. Bewildered by the sight of the miseries which he had imprudently scattered around him, man often fails to appreciate the value of his life. He desires to conquer a Paradise that is gratuitously offered. But alas! this is hidden from him almost completely by a dense wall of prejudices and falsehoods.

Let us destroy this wall and upon its ruins will rise human joys hitherto unknown, and smiles that have long since disappeared. Mankind will be happier in proportion as it becomes more just, and man will be better satisfied with his lot from the moment his wife or his sister, admitted to the banquet of life, shall enjoy by the same right its sweets, bitternesses, and joys.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE SEXES

CHAPTER I

BETWEEN MAN AND WOMAN

I. The Age of the Woman. The twentieth century will be the century of woman, as the eighteenth and the nineteenth were especially those of the "Rights of Man." It is vain to search into threatening problems; that of woman's aspirations for political and social equality with man overshadows them all. Woman no longer clings to time-honoured privileges, but is everywhere demanding equal rights. The near future will probably side with her, following the old saying: *A woman must have her way.*

We shall thus witness the most magnificent social transformation that has been realised since the fall of the Roman Empire. Humanity, directed by man, will suddenly find itself guided and inspired jointly by the two sexes.

Discussion deals apparently only with the expediency of the majority of feminine demands, not with their justifiable foundation. It is a curious suit, in which the

opponent withholds what is demanded from him, actuated, he asserts, by the interest the applicant inspires.

This at least is the form assumed in France by the duel between man and woman. The passage at arms presents itself in the most correct manner. The elegance of the action of the champions of feminine rights is equalled only by the attitude of their adversaries. While in England and the United States, society is now opposing to the violent and often unduly eccentric deeds of women a resistance no less uncompromising, every one in France appears to sympathise with her political claims. Much indifference is encountered, hesitations that indicate passive rebellion, but we see chiefly a sort of tacit acquiescence in favour of the new charter of woman. Its masculine and feminine supporters are recruited among the working classes, as well as from the wealthy and intellectual citizens, and even in the ancient citadel of the old system, the Faubourg Saint-Germain. Duchesses, belonging to the most aristocratic families in France, join societies whose object is the political triumph of woman.

Finally, what do the legislators, writers, scientists say? Almost all of these speak in favour of the principle and make reservations only concerning the extent and the date of the triumph.

The French woman, having conquered rights equal to those of man, will not fail to convert these into a useful weapon. The field is vast, and she will be able to expend upon it all the treasures of her good sense, her practical mind, and her public loyalty. For the point is not to transform the demands of woman into a sort of duel between the two sexes. Thanks to the tact dis-

played by the managers of the feminist movement in France, their cause has gained more during the first few years of the twentieth century than that of the English suffragettes in spite of the endeavours of the latter and the fact that their campaign of emancipation was begun at so much earlier a date. Unity of purpose, harmony of efforts in common with man, this is the motto that best sums up the social activity of the future.

There is even something disquieting in the serenity with which French society faces this approaching upheaval. Political rights that are usually conquered only in blood, are now promising to be born amid smiles. There are no longer either conservatives or radicals when we are called upon to consider a problem which agitates alike mothers, wives, and daughters.

II. The Crisis of the Modern Condition. Sex prejudice is equivalent to race prejudice. Woman is worth as much as man, and she is in fact often of greater value. We should vainly seek in science for arguments against her civil and political equality. These can be found only in the opportuneness of circumstances. In this domain, discussions may continue eternally without giving any result whatever. But if we will but consider the question from a higher standpoint we shall see arise a solution that impresses us. The present condition of the civilised world is everywhere unsatisfactory! Parliamentarianism has replaced the autocratic system, and the third estate has triumphed along the entire line. The fourth is advancing in its turn, and already we anticipate its inevitable victory. Everywhere the future is scrutinised with uncertainty and apprehension.

Nothing satisfies us, parliamentarianism even less than the other institutions. If we continue to retain parliamentarianism, it is only due to the impossibility of replacing it, for we are beginning to agree that autocratic governments are worth still less than the rule of the people for the people.

The evil dwells chiefly in the manner in which the power is applied. There is something abnormal in its exercise; an essential element appears to be lacking, and that element is woman.

As, to create a human being, the union of both sexes is required, such union is necessary for effective action in social and political life. To have the results perfect, the efforts of both halves of mankind must be harmonised. It is illogical to wish to exclude woman from the control of the most essential interests of the present generation of which she forms a part, and of the future one that she is called upon to bring forth and rear.

The exclusive government by men has been put to the test. Nothing could be more stupid than the result we have attained. To-day, as thousands of years ago, human societies live in a state of war. International morality is scarcely beginning to germinate. We are still ready to kill and to tear to pieces. Pretended peace engulfs the means necessary to amend the fate of the abased and disinherited. A dull discontent is everywhere muttering. The wealthy classes seem bewildered, while more reflective minds fear revolution and anarchy. We are all living more in regrets for a vanished past than in hope of the future.

Pessimists go so far as to talk of the failure of the modern government. Growing syndicalism threatens

to devour parliamentarianism, with its ally, state socialism. This same syndicalism is threatened, in its turn, by the unemployed and the anarchists. Like the ancient Pharaohs, from this very moment it is digging the crypt that must swallow it.

The fourth estate, scarcely born, seems to be already sinking into the insignificance of nonentity.

Lamartine's saying: *France does not know what to do with herself*, is no longer relevant. It is Europe, it is the whole civilised world that is sinking into darkness, into uncertainty. The universal conscience is not only disturbed, but utterly lost. It moves toward progress as a wearied soldier would march sleepily through a dark night toward the battlefield. He moves forward, but with a hesitating, unsteady step. The bullets which wake him at dawn will risk arousing his soul in the anguish of imminent defeat. Among all the misfortunes that overwhelm mankind one of the gravest is always forgotten—that one half of the human race is living under a system of manifest inferiority. It is not only deprived of the vote but is excluded from the control of the laws. Decisions are made for it, chiefly against it, but always without it.

Now woman has a right to turn to her masters of yesterday and to-day, and to say to them: "Look at your work. Will you dare to say sincerely that justice and good faith are presiding over your, or rather our, destinies? For an interminable number of centuries I have left you to act. Patient and submissive, I have remained silent while you have made this earth, which ought to be a Paradise, an abode of suffering and tears. It is time to react against your inconsistencies. Above all, it is time that I should have my rights. You will

vainly oppose this but I shall triumph under any circumstances, for I represent moral power unblunted, energy, and increasing will. To deny me my rights you will vainly appeal to my defects; it is you who have made woman what she appears to be in our day."

Has not a great masculine thinker said: "Every absurdity of woman is only the folly of man"?

There are women, we are told, who protest against the enlargement of their rights. This is true. Yet we have not forgotten that thousands of slaves, at the time of their emancipation, watered with tears of regret the fetters that had bound them for years. The human being is the slave of habits, and especially of bad ones.

We model our ideas upon those age-long prejudices—"customs."

The differentiation of the sexes in the domain of thought would be difficult to maintain. Yet its most zealous partisans grant woman her practical sense, while conceding to man his gift of abstraction. This is another reason for uniting these two qualities in every province where the human being is compelled to struggle against nature and, what is no less serious, against his own wickedness, his inconsistencies, his evil passions, and his evil instincts; and this collaboration will perhaps yield us good and permanent results.

It would be better if this reform could be realised peacefully, and in the shortest possible time, for never has man been called upon to confront so many dangers as in our own day. The gods are departing. Marriage and the family, those primordial bases of modern civilisation, appear to be crumbling. Fortunately, woman remains. Let us summon her to avert the common perils. Perhaps, by sharing their privileges with her,

men will lose something, but the whole human race will gain much.

III. The Collaboration of the Sexes. Objections that for a time appeared to slumber will undoubtedly soon revive. Prudent minds expect to defer this "tempest in a teapot," as they commonly call it, by subjecting it to slow and successive stages. Henceforth we shall see the opposition increase and shelter itself beneath the complex interests of tradition and the social future. It would doubtless be impossible to enumerate and combat the objections formulated against the feminine charter. Throughout the world exists an entire literature devoted to the defence or attack of the demands of the other sex. The conflict is several centuries old. We will endeavour to take it up from a different standpoint. Instead of confining ourselves to repeating venerable phrases, we will go to the same sources whence they appear to flow.

What is the basis of the unfavourable estimates of woman? How has she been slandered in the past? How has her personality been formed? What have been the relations of the two halves of the human race in the past, and the consequences which have followed?

Is woman really inferior to her companion? Has she a special psychology? And has her nature really rendered her unable to enter upon certain callings considered as belonging exclusively to man? What is her mentality and her reasoning power?

Is she really condemned to imitate man in everything and to maintain an exasperating mediocrity in the domains that are or will be open to her? Has woman the gift of invention? Do certain qualities of mind or

muscle distinguish her, and will they forever distinguish her from the other sex?

All these numerous and complex questions converge toward the same end: to try to explain the woman of to-day and to render it possible to understand and justly estimate the woman of the future.

This is the way in which sociology, biology, psycho-physiology, and historical philosophy will aid us in evolving several conclusions outside of all prejudices and inherited opinions. This impartial revision of the importance of the two sexes will permit us to view their present more seriously and thereby to deduce their future with greater certainty. Above all, there will result this consoling affirmation: the two sexes can and ought to work together in all the domains of human activity. Still more the revised sexual balance-sheet will allow us to prove that woman will bring elements inestimable for future progress. Accepted as man's equal, she will make man complete and both united will be able to face with security the evolution of the individual and of society.

The two contradictory forces which are now paralysing the march of mankind: the centripetal, which draws human beings toward society and the state, and the centrifugal, which exalts the individualist principle, will find their union in the reconciliation and the harmonious co-operation of an integral humanity.

But there is one disturbing argument addressed to the partisans of the political rights of woman. We appear to be still holding the ideas of Aristotle, to whom woman was only an imperfect man. Her intellectual organisation, we are told, renders her inferior to man. Without intending to attribute such inferiority to the

lighter weight of the feminine brain, an argument rendered ridiculous by modern physiology, we are ready to admit that woman lacks creative intellect. She only "apes" and imitates man. Nothing will result, it is said, from this political and social collaboration of man and woman, because the most intelligent women will merely follow the tracks made by the stronger sex.

Love and maternity, her opponents add, only destroy woman's energy and her supremacy over man. Dr. Moebius points out that "So long as Brünhilde remains a virgin, she holds the mastery over men. But, once conquered by her love for Siegfried, she becomes like all the rest, weak and stupid." The beautiful myth of the *Niebelungen* seems to have nourished through centuries man's scepticism concerning woman. Yet there are millions of women who do not allow themselves to be dominated by love. There are millions of others who banish it from their souls.

Let us imagine woman presiding from this moment, in the same way as man, over the future of humanity, and in a few years we shall see the most insoluble problems solved without delay. Depopulation, alcoholism, criminality, the wasting of the funds of the nation, nepotism, and so many other political and social evils against which we have struggled uselessly for years, will diminish considerably almost everywhere before vanishing entirely.

The perpetual menace of war, which does not cease to ruin and poison the existence of all nations, will disappear in the same way under the influence and the vigilance of the mothers watching over the life and the health of their children. The reduction of armaments, prior to the final disarmament, will be realised only with

the co-operation of the women of all countries. The political vote of the wives and the mothers, uniting across the frontiers, would realise for us, far more quickly than we think, the golden dream of universal peace.

IV. The New Woman. The woman of the old times has had her life. Those who grieve, as well as those who rejoice over it, can make no change in this implacable and inevitable phenomenon. Time, the greatest revolutionist in human affairs, has made woman lose her former qualities and endowed her with new virtues. Tradition, faithful to its character, has effaced itself only in the presence of economical or historical necessities.

Having entered the life of man, woman has there contracted new modes of thought and new customs. She has cast off idleness and has undertaken, on a large scale, the same works that absorb and occupy man. The fruit of an irreducible economy, this invasion of woman into the realm of labour does not cease to increase. When we speak of the new changes in women's life, we usually consider only the limited number of lawyers or doctors, consoling ourselves by thinking that the lawyers have few cases and the woman doctors have only replaced the midwives. We somewhat resemble the singular spectator of whom the fabulist speaks. Shown into an immense museum of natural history, the visitor had noticed only flies and insects, without having seen the elephants, lions, or tigers. For, behind the liberal professions that attract our attention unduly, there is the vast industrial and commercial life which seems to escape us completely.

By way of example, let us take France. According to her census of 1906 (published in 1911) French commerce, whose number of feminine employees in 1866 was only 241,000, had in 1896, 577,000 and in 1906, 779,000. In agriculture (fisheries, forests, fields) the women numbered in 1866, 1,878,000; in 1896, 2,760,000, and in 1906, 3,330,000.

When the same census is studied by the category of occupations, we are astounded by the rapidity of this feminine invasion. The working force of women engaged in the manufacture of fabrics and clothing is *eight times* greater than that of men similarly employed; it is also larger by 100,000 in the section of textiles.

Woman is now taking part in all the divisions of national production. Nothing alarms and nothing rebuffs her. Industries heretofore regarded as too unwholesome or too hard for feminine muscles, have not failed to attract women. They have not even shrunk from serious risks to health. We see them engaged in carpet-weaving or in the manufactories of chemical products and metals, in forges, in the fabrication of chains, paper, boarding, and book-binding, knives, bolts, and tools, acids and various salts, explosives, articles of polished steel, ships, or common nails. They even work at the production of glass bottles, considered the most unwholesome of all manufactures.

The figures shown by France are so much the more significant because, during that period, our population has remained almost stationary, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine having been counterbalanced by immigration and a trifling increase of the population by the channel of birth. But French industry cannot vie with the considerable increase in that of the United States and

Germany. The progress noted in France displays itself with greater vigour and assumes still more important proportions in the other countries.

Now, a phenomenon before which all our declamations pale: during forty years the feminine industrial population in France has increased nearly 100 per cent. while the masculine population has been augmented by only 56 per cent. A fatal and irresistible power is thus urging woman into the domain of competition with man. All hope of combating this tendency is mere madness.

We are witnessing a new phase of the feminine evolution. Treated at first as a domestic animal, then a slave or a servant, she ascended, toward the end of the eighteenth century, to the rank of the minor, tenderly loved or outrageously despised and neglected. Another century passes, and having become "of age" by her matured mind and her sufferings endured through the ages, entered on a footing of equality, thanks to the duties that weigh upon her, in the domain of labour, she is claiming her rights and her privileges as an adult wherever she finds herself in contact with man, that is in the fulness of her family, social, and political existence.

Feminism is thus coming to the attainment of its own life. It is rising above sterile agitations, men and women. It no longer depends upon any government, any faith, any political and social dogma.

After having obtained her rights to knowledge, after having accepted her duties of collaborating with man in all the provinces of his activity, after having renounced, by the force of circumstances, the pleasures and the inferiority of her former life, having at last conquered her individual and social emancipation, wo-

man is now, with irresistible logic, demanding her civil, family, and political equality. This is upon the whole the roof of the new building that is being erected with, and often against, the will of man. When she has conducted to a fitting end this labour of centuries woman doubtless will not draw back from the final crown of her efforts. Is not this to be her abode? And will she pause before the inevitable result of so many combined causes? Henceforth they will show themselves stronger than all the possible hesitations of women or the declared hostility of men.

V. How to Save the Home. Thoughtful minds point out an imminent danger. To enter political life, they say, women will be compelled to leave the home. This fear is an illusive one. On the contrary, after conquering its domination she will value the home still more. She will adorn it, render it more attractive, for she will desire it to be more lasting. She will find in it charms unknown there when she felt only constraint and obligations imposed by force.

Public service, the future of society, will obtain a greater hold upon her heart. She will grasp in their unity the vast spheres of life, its sufferings and its duties. She will love and defend it with zeal and mature consideration. Her personality, made greater by the trials of her broadened existence, will know how to hold higher aloft the banner of the fireside. Having become an "individuality" herself, she will have an equal respect for that of her husband and her children. She will better comprehend the lofty purpose of life. A better understanding of destiny will breathe a new soul into many dolls, and also give them a power of

resistance to the appeals of the sensual instincts. The will power will gain much and sexual morality likewise.

The feeling of responsibility enlarges conscientiousness. Woman, bearing the fate of humanity on her shoulders, will rise to unimagined heights. There will be fewer unappreciated husbands and more understanding wives; and home, far from suffering by this, will be singularly uplifted.

For let us not forget that practically everything which degrades the soul of the modern woman finds entrance only because the soul is devoid of graver cares. Place in it the images of larger duty and those of frivolity will remain without. Real love can only benefit from the change. Accustomed to think and to act together, when the two beings are to commune in the same ideal their union must be spiritualised. It will regain, through the liberation of free individualities, what it will have lost in sensuality. Love will soar higher, fed by thought and aspirations, if not always held in common, at least always lofty and directed toward the happiness of our fellow-creatures.

Modern marriage, tossed among so many contradictory demands, will be purified. Thought and action in common will temper the brutal appetites of the senses. New moral principles will enter the changed soul of woman. She will understand and will instinctively apply George Sand's ideal of genuine chastity, whose requirement is "never to mistake the soul for the senses, nor the senses for the soul."

What tends to kill love is chiefly the disuniting of thoughts, mutual misunderstanding. The moral anxieties we have in common often do more than the ideal dead or slumbering in our souls. It is not the divergence

of political or social opinion that may be menacing to the home; it is the absence of any of the lofty preoccupations of life. The need of living and thinking contributes to union. In this reciprocal action souls, and the political action of man, will become nobler. Government, instead of being only the expression of the vulgar ambitions of individuals, will incarnate the happiness of nations.

VI. Woman and Progress. Certain minds turn naturally toward the foul side of things. Each innovation makes them think of its base possibilities or of the benefit it may bring to our evil instincts. Yet we should be wrong to lower the service of aeroplanes to international smuggling, just as we should be in error to see, in the enfranchisement of woman, only a curtailment of the life of man. Why not think of what new splendour this transformation will produce on earth? Even large minds hesitate before this advance of woman. The principle is admitted, but its application is feared.

Irresistibly bound to the past, woman, it is stated, will be prepared to support every reaction, and the victories of civilisation will be compromised.

Is woman really inclined toward conservatism, toward all reactions? We forget her part in the first centuries of Christianity. It is she who was one of the dissolving elements of Roman Paganism. It is to her we owe the triumph of an order of things which has destroyed the ancient world. In this great contest she was simply a revolutionist.

Within the past few years, in different countries, the women have acted in very different ways. In Finland, they voted with the socialists; in Norway with the

conservatives. At the other end of the world, in New Zealand, abandoning the phraseology of parties, woman has aimed only at social reforms and has helped to bring about marvels. For woman, like man, is not "one and indivisible." She varies according to her mentality, and this is the result of her environment. Sensitive to the eloquence of facts and ideas, she is developing. She will, like man, sometimes be reactionary, sometimes radical-socialist, religious or atheistic. Only, less exhausted by political appetite, she will have more frankness and will be more faithful to principles. Men and political struggles being idealised, life should, in its turn, become loftier.

Let us even admit that woman may try to make us go backward, that certain reforms, on her account, will have a less easy victory, the final progress will nevertheless be accomplished. It is only in the Bible that the sun is made to stand still.

Truth must in the end always triumph. But when the aid of woman has been gained, then with the support of both sexes, Truth will take a fresh flight. Under such conditions a temporary checking of progress might even prove desirable. For the woman of the Latin civilisations, the change should have special importance. She is too much inclined to reduce life to its sentimental relations. Love, with its connections, has occupied too much room in her mind; and yet life contains other elements. What is to be done, particularly with the unmarried women? By having the superabundance of feeling directed to the realm of thought, we shall transform into social energy what might have become mere sexual excess. It is at the cost of sensuality that our existence will become more altruistic, deeper, more

humane. The beauty of life having become that of thought and action, will gain in true happiness what it will have lost in the parody or malady of love.

The extension of the rights of woman will stifle certain disturbing, if not alarming, doubts concerning the future of the family. The right of an identical sexual morality, with its train of accessories, the right and often the duty to commit a fault, will vanish in face of the political and civil equality of the two sexes. Certain monsters live only in darkness.

The discovery of the common magnifying-glass has enabled us to conquer invisible worlds. The integral liberation of woman will permit her at least to regain her personality. Subjection lulls her to sleep in the inertia of her acts and thoughts. The enlargement of her rights will develop her consciousness of her existence as a human being. Mothers, wives, and daughters, strengthened and regenerated by the broader and more earnest life, will gain in it the noble mind and grave serenity of the masters.

Woman will ascend several steps, and mankind will more rapidly achieve its fair destiny.

CHAPTER II

WOMAN HUMILIATED AND SLANDERED

A—Her Evolution through The Ages; the Philosophy of the Past.

FAR from us be the idea of proposing to study the subjection of women under all its manifold aspects. The important point is to make clear the philosophy of the past, according to its most representative examples.

These will demonstrate, first of all, that woman's history is only one long martyrdom which unfolds before our eyes under the form of numberless sufferings and innumerable injustices. The ever wronged is, on the whole, the ever sacrificed. Of the great mass of misfortunes that fall upon man, she has taken the lion's share; and she has in addition resigned to her companion a portion of her own joys. Thus unequally equipped, woman has passed through history, finding in the sweet duties of maternity some offset for the troubles of life.

But this long past of suffering is bringing to her the most radiant hopes for the future. The way to the equality of the sexes follows the general progress of humanity. The part belonging to woman, as well as her dignity, are increasing with the emancipation of thought and of human personality.

Is there any means of comprising within one law, or

a single series of laws, the record of the evolution of woman through the ages? Each attempt in this division of ideas presents insurmountable difficulties. The history of woman is the history of humanity and of civilisation. Man has vainly set himself up for a master in the labour of progress, while the contribution of woman constitutes a factor in this progress by the same title as his own. But the laws controlling civilisation and progress are yet to be discovered. This supreme goal of sociological investigation will doubtless be attained only on the day when all the united sciences, of which sociology is only the expression, shall have said their final word. This may easily take a number of centuries. Each philosophy, each generalisation, remains therefore as yielding as it is little to be trusted. This is what explains the multiplicity of the schools which dispute the honour of securing for us the mysterious key of the past. Their so-called truths are often contradictory. Sometimes we are taught that, in remote ages, woman lorded it over man, sometimes that she was below the domestic animals. She has risen with progress, say some; she has only descended, assert others.

In this labyrinth of doctrines, however, there is one which appears to be able to solve certain enigmas of the past. This affirms that the evolution of rights closely follows the evolution of human responsibility. In distant times this was only collective. The clan, the group, the tribe, answered for the individual; later, the individual emancipated himself, and secured the triumph of his personal responsibility. This hypothesis would tend to explain the effacement of woman in the past, her deliverance in the present, and her inevitable equality with man in the future.

In fact, the collective responsibility of a group requires, in the first place, the subjection of the individual and the existence of a chief. The individual is nothing, collectivity incarnated in the chief is everything. Gradually man freed himself from this domination. In this struggle for the conquest of his rights, man, stronger and more energetic, has had the advantage over woman. But with the growth of civilisation, the part played by force diminishes and woman, in her turn, raises her head. She follows man very closely, for the idea of individual rights, more and more victorious, secures her fair share of the benefits. As brute strength lessens in importance as a social factor, and is replaced by principles of justice, woman comes into a position to claim and to secure the triumph of her rights by the same title as man. She is making this effort on a larger and larger scale, using her intellectual qualities, her energy, and her perseverance, which advantageously replace the weapons and the combats of earlier times. Man, more and more accepting the directing voice of reason, is yielding to the guidance of woman, which, in the main, is only human judgment. There is no longer any right without responsibility; and, as woman is individually responsible for her deeds and transactions, man, more and more individualistic, cannot refuse her the rights she claims. Thus the emancipation of the human conscience remains the point of departure and junction of the struggle between the two sexes. It can have logically for a result only the absolute equality of rights in the presence of an equivalent responsibility.

We have summarised as best we can, and also as laconically as possible, the results of that sociological law which owes its exposition chiefly to the labours of

Sir Henry Maine,[1] and which has now secured recognition in modern science.

Viewed from this standpoint, the history of woman can be divided into four decisive periods: the matriarchal, the matriarcho-patriarchal, the patriarchal, and the individualist.

What was in fact the matriarchate? Did woman ever exercise the power of chief of the social organisation? Judging from the vestiges of the matriarchate, preserved among certain primitive tribes, there existed extensive groups enjoying certain collective rights, the beneficiaries of which were united, by real or fictitious relationship on the mother's side. The maternal uncle exercised the prerogatives of chief. The title was transmitted through the mother, and not through the father. Upon this principal foundation rested laws and customs that rendered woman's situation more or less detestable. The essential defect was that the authority was vested not in the woman but in the man. The matriarchate was therefore in no sense a *gynecocracy*, that is a government by women. An intermediate phase separated the matriarchate from the patriarchate.

The co-existence of these two phases has been observed in a large number of African and Asiatic peoples, among others the Melanesians of the Solomon Isles. Later, the maternal uncle wholly disappears, and the father incarnates his rights and prerogatives. He, too, commands in the name of the whole. He celebrates the rites in honour of the ancestors. The ability to inherit being a religious honour and a religious obligation, woman is found excluded from it. Moreover, polygamy is closely associated with the patriarchal phase.

[1] *Ancient Law* and *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions.*

With the birth of the modern government, the patriarchate finds itself counterbalanced by higher interests. The all-powerful bonds of the family and the privileges of the father and the husband are weakened to enlarge those of the State. Woman is raised as the patriarchate is lowered. Christianity deals the system the decisive blow. The patriarchal family rested chiefly upon the worship of the dead, whose high priest was no other than man, and from this flowed many of man's privileges. These privileges vanished with the triumph of the doctrine of Jesus. As the government has substituted its own punishments for crime for the vengeance of clans, families, and tribes, the patriarchate is dissolved for the benefit of the State and of the individualist phase. The economic evolution in its turn is powerfully contributing to this result. The domestic workshop, one of the essential foundations of the patriarchate, being replaced by industrial workshops, woman goes out of the home precincts and, on returning from her labour outside, brings ideas of dignity and independence which do not cease to undermine the ancient organisation.

This doctrine, however, encounters numerous adversaries. The opposition to it is based, among other things, on the fact that we do not find in the past history of certain peoples, evidence of the matriarchate (d'Arbois de Jubainville.)

In ancient Egypt, for instance, the family organisation and the situation of woman wholly escape this classification. We find there first the equality of rights of the two sexes, then the absence of the patriarchate. Moreover, the maternal uncle plays no part and consequently the matriarchate did not enter into the Egyptian government.

But, whatever may be the value of this doctrine or of so many others that are striving, by means of hypotheses, to decipher the secrets of past centuries, there is nothing more instructive than to study the actual facts that can be verified in the history of the life of woman.

Thus we believe it indispensable to review the position of woman in several great ethnical agglomerations, the most representative of mankind. It is only by comparing the conditions of her coexistence with man, at different periods and among different peoples, that we shall be able to form an accurate idea of the betterments already accomplished and of those which remain to be conquered.

I. In Australasia. The Melanesian and Tasmanian black peoples of Australasia have perhaps preserved in the most striking manner the ancient organisation of the clans. These are found identified with the family, all whose members are jointly responsible. Relationship is restricted to descent from the mother and not that resulting from the sexual union, whose mysteries appear to have eluded primitive man. According to the singular conceptions associated with relationship on the mother's side, the father's brothers are considered as the real fathers of his offspring. Marriages are made from clan to clan, and the women belong to the entire clan. A right of private property in the woman is established only by a purely exceptional title. A man who seizes by violence or stratagem a woman who is not a member of his clan can keep her as belonging to him in his own right. Usually, he gives her up equally to his associates or his comrades who have allowed him

to accomplish the abduction. Husband or proprietor of a woman belonging to him by exclusive title, he uses and abuses his rights at his pleasure.

The woman commits a great sin by deceiving him, and she is then liable to severe punishment. But the husband has the right to yield her temporarily, for a sum agreed upon, to his neighbours or friends. The feeling of jealousy being almost wholly lacking in the Australasian tribes, the women pass from hand to hand. They thus endure all the caprices of their husbands, who yield or sell them at will.

According to some travellers it is the custom during certain solemn festivals to delegate certain women of the clan to be subject to all the men; and as the women thus sacrificed change in turn, the result is almost complete promiscuity.

During these festivals therefore the future husband abandons his quasi-fiancée to his companions of the clan. This barbarous ceremony once accomplished the woman becomes the private property of her husband (Spencer and Gillen). As the woman is burdened with the hardest and most troublesome household tasks, she represents an actual value to the man.

In return, the man concerns himself very little about the woman's fate. When, after having accompanied him on his long journeys through the bush, she arrives at night exhausted by fatigue, she must make the fire, bring wood, water, and prepare the food to restore the strength of her companions. The husbands rest and passively watch the women work. "The men's meal over," Bonwick states, "the unfortunate creatures sit down patiently at a distance and catch the bones and

fragments of food the men scornfully throw to them, exactly as we fling meat to dogs."

The position allotted to women after death seems to indicate the esteem men have for them while living. One of the explorers of those countries, Oldfield, declares that he never found a woman's tomb in these regions. The men, who have the right to cast them off and expel them, usually profit by the time that they become old or infirm to rid themselves of them. Still more frequently, they dispose of their bodies while they still possess some nutritive value.

In a word, as Oldfield tells us, so little importance is attached to women before or after their death that one may wonder whether man does not put his dog absolutely in the same rank as his wife, and whether after he has eaten them both, he thinks more frequently or more tenderly of one than of the other.

Among the Papuans, the position of women is nearly the same. The institution of the clan having disappeared, women find themselves still more at the mercy of their husbands. Woman is considered as the exclusive property of her master and husband, who inflicts upon her all sorts of humiliations and sufferings. As cannibalism still persists, it is not unusual to see husbands eating their wives. Often, too, at a husband's death, several women, who are assumed to desire to accompany him in his future wanderings, are slain. With the Kroomen, the wife who enjoyed special favour from her husband is, after his death, crushed under a log of wood. She is afterward buried beside the dead man. Among other tribes, several women are killed to honour the departed chief. T. Pritchard, quoted by Letourneau, relates that a Vitian, named

Loti, ate his wife, after having had her cooked over a fire lighted by the woman herself. On reaching an advanced age, women are often accused of witchcraft and then executed to destroy the evil fate threatening the community. Beaten, humiliated, and tortured, the women sometimes resort to suicide to rid themselves of the men who have become their tormentors.

Dark Africa offers us disturbing facts in this connection. There, woman is often treated more cruelly than the animals. For the most trifling fault, the Ashantee husbands inflict upon their wives punishments which consist of bodily mutilations. Sometimes they take off an ear or an arm, or amuse themselves by cutting or mutilating their lips. In certain parts of Senegambia, husbands make their wives submit to public flogging. Among the Hottentots old women, unable to work, are driven away from the tribe and abandoned to wild beasts. When a victorious enemy enters their villages, the Bechuana Kaffirs abandon to the foe first of all their wives and children. They will struggle bravely to save their cattle, but take no trouble to protect their wives.

This is because swine and cows are generally regarded as more valuable than women. Animals, the aborigines say, are much more easily sold. It would be useless to dwell upon the occupations given up to women. Men place upon them all the hard and disagreeable tasks. While the husband attends to the cows and himself assumes, in general, the pleasantest labour, such as sewing or washing, he compels his wife or daughters to carry wood or till the ground. In proportion to the progress of manufactures, woman's situation is improved. Rivalry between the tribes then

compels the men to work more effectively. They devote themselves to the more arduous tasks, while allowing the women to undertake occupations better suited to their strength and more in harmony with their position as wives and housekeepers. Let us pass into another realm.

II. Among the Mongolidæ. Woman among these peoples is regarded, not as a person but as a chattel. The Esquimaux are numbered among the least developed in the great family of the yellow races. Among them as well as with the numerous Arctic tribes which are usually classed in the same group, the Samoides of Kamchatka, the Tungus, the Laplanders, and a dozen others, woman is regarded as forming an integral part of her husband's fortune. It is not rare to see the Esquimaux sell or rent their wives (Parry). The sentiment of chastity being utterly lacking, they also exchange their wives. Among the Kadiaks, the husband usually procures an associate, who fulfils his functions during his absence (Bancroft). Children being a certain and current revenue, the mothers of numerous offspring find themselves much in demand. The two sexes appear equally to ignore modesty. Women, without protest, consent to be sold or exchanged. In their turn, they do not deprive themselves of the pleasure of making advances to any one. The husband is then considered as wronged in his character of proprietor.

With the Mongolian peoples who are more advanced in culture, woman's position is a little better. She enjoys a pleasanter life, especially among the Tartars. True, the husbands work little, and allow themselves

to be maintained and fed by their wives. While the masters rest from morning till night, engaged in wanton conversation, the women wash, brush, weave, spin, make garments, attend to the housekeeping, and rear the children. But the husbands seem to be grateful to them for the care-free life they can enjoy, thanks to the labour of their companions. If the wife has no special esteem, she is not ill-treated, and does not pass from hand to hand like a common domestic animal. In the mountains of Thibet, where agriculture is possible, it is the women who sow, weed, and wield the scythe (Letourneau). Woman is there considered a sort of plague, a harsh necessity of life, of whom the Thibetans wish to rid themselves as much as possible. So they throng into the monasteries, where they live sheltered from family cares. Men even try to divide the heavy fetters of marriage. Several wed the same woman and polyandry is quite widely spread among them. Usually, several brothers take the same wife, and afterward arrange their mutual life. The oldest brother seems to be the privileged master. He plays the part of the first husband before whom the rights of the others give way. Woman finds herself forced into the converse of the character of the inmate of a harem. According to Turner, she derives from her physiological injuries a suspicious and irascible jealousy, together with a sort of low sensuality common to those addicted to the pleasures of the senses.

Among the other peoples of the Mongolian race, woman's position resembles that earlier described. Her existence is based upon her recognised and exploited inferiority. In the countries more closely studied, such as Indo-China, Cochin-China, or Annam, the same

phenomenon is everywhere discovered: woman is considered as being beneath man, and is compelled to work far harder. Thus, in Annam, the women of the nation till the earth, and reap the harvests. In Siam, they beat the rice and steer the heavily loaded boats. In the more backward countries, their situation is still worse. Among the Battas, they devote themselves to the cultivation of the rice, which calls for a series of toilsome and unwholesome operations, and they manage in addition the domestic labours. Among the Dayaks, it is the woman who is ordered to bring the wood and water for the household, and she adds to it the trade of burden-bearer; she pounds the rice, weaves, spins, sews, and performs all the tasks of the home. The husband, on the other hand, arrogates to himself all the rights of master. He abuses her, repudiates her from the family, or sells her for a slave, with or without her consent. In Cambodia, the husband claims the right of putting his wife up as a pledge, as well as his children (Leclerc). Here, however, we have to do with a more humane and civilised people.

Among the Japanese, the position of woman has varied greatly in these later times. Since Japan has accepted the influence of European ideas, woman is regarded as the equal of man and is openly claiming her rights. But by the side of the privileged classes, the woman of the people will continue for a long time to be the victim of the anti-feminist prejudices rooted in the minds of the yellow race.

While the Japanese husband has from the earliest times exercised the right of repudiating his wife upon any pretext whatever, it was only at the close of the last century that woman gained the right of applying

for a divorce. This is, however, for her but an illusory right, for in case of divorce, the husband keeps the fortune and the children. On the other hand, the custom of selling young girls for a certain time to the houses of ill repute, the *Yoshiwara*, has not disappeared. The young girl thus descends to the level of a slave of her father, or of the widowed mother who asserts the same authority.

The father is regarded as the owner of his children and turns them to account according to his convenience. In the lower classes, he rids himself of the burden by selling, deserting, or killing them. This method of using the privilege of paternity is exercised more expecially with regard to girls. Masculine offspring, through which is secured the worship of ancestors, is more appreciated. The sons are indispensable for the proper maintenance of the family and religious worship.

Travellers are not always in accord in regard to the custom of infanticide so prevalent in China, but it is beyond doubt that the abandonment of children is practised there upon a very large scale. Every important city has its *temples of the new-born* where children deserted by their parents are collected and reared by the government.

The women of China, as of Japan, can expect a visible improvement of their fate only with the decisive triumph of modern civilisation. In the anticipation of this joyful moment they are, without hesitation, accepting European ideas. As in Europe, success will come to them only by their own exertions. The Chinese woman is therefore developing her mind before conquering her rights. But, in our times, her situation is much the same as it was thirty centuries ago. The

Chinese, enamoured of tradition and the past, are striving to maintain all their injustices. Woman having always been regarded as the chattel of man, the Chinese endeavour to vindicate, by education and the laws, this essential principle in sexual relations. Woman is reared to be only the shadow of man. She must have neither energy, nor will. As she is married without her consent it is of course unnecessary for her to see her future husband. Once wedded, she owes unlimited obedience to her master. He can beat her, he can also under any pretext whatever repudiate her. The Chinese code has endeavoured to define clearly the question of repudiation, but as the husband has the right to use the bamboo at his pleasure and also can have his wife abused by his sister or his mother, the unfortunate woman can do nothing except go away when her husband has manifested a wish that she shall do so.

In the famous work entitled *The Seven Articles Containing the Principal Duties of Women*, whose author is no other than a woman of great ability, Pan-Hoei-Pan, we find summarised as follows the relations between the two sexes. "Woman holds the lowest rank in the human species." This is a truth which she must impress upon her mind, because on its comprehension depends her conduct and her happiness. "The husband is the heaven of the wife." "Everything the wife has, even her name, belongs to her husband. She must be only a shadow and an echo in the house. . . . The shadow has no form except that of the body, and the echo must say only what it is desired to speak. She owes her husband boundless obedience, and it is this virtue which renders her worthy of the title of wife. . . ."

This total effacement of woman before man becomes under the pen of Pan-Hoei-Pan pathetically tragic. In her absolute passivity, this writer of by no means ordinary talents perceives for woman no other situation than that of a shadow existing merely through her husband's will. The woman who maintains herself on the surface of the earth only because she knows how to practise a blind obedience to the whims of him to whom she owes everything, "even the name that distinguishes her from other mortals," appears to be the synthesis of all the doctrines which embody the opinion of the yellow races concerning their sisters or their mothers.

Faithful to this ideal, the Chinese condemn woman to be banished from life. The victim of an enforced confinement, she remains unconnected with everything that is occurring around her. As young girl or mother, she has nothing in common with the public or social affairs of the country. As a wife, she vanishes in the person of her husband. At the latter's death she formerly followed his fate. After the sacred rites, she was to remain inconsolable. Widows who thus understand how to make their sufferings appreciated are commended to the emperor himself, who, on the anniversary of their husbands' deaths, sends them a yellow robe as a reward.

Often, over-excited by the barbarous opinions of their associates, widows are eager to join their husbands in death.

After having informed the public authorities of her supreme decision, the woman dresses herself in red and waits for the procession which comes in great pomp. She is then taken through the principal streets. Musicians surround her carriage and fill the city with a

horrible uproar. Two executioners precede the train and describe to the crowd the glorious deed that is to be performed. The following month, the woman thus exalted while living must be hanged in the presence of the public, who throng to witness the edifying spectacle.

According to the importance of the dead man whose widow has gone out of the world in this way, triumphal gateways will be erected to her, or tablets will be placed in one of the city temples in her honour.

Polygamy still exists in China. Rich men resort to it in a normal and popular way. By the side of the great wife, or "first wife," there is a series of concubines, whom the husband obtains for money, with or without the consent of his principal wife. The concubine's children are regarded as being the children of the first wife, and they share in the family duties and rights by the same title as the other children. But the position of concubine is worse than that of an ordinary mistress among the whites. Her children are not hers, and her fate depends absolutely upon her master. Having once purchased her, he also claims the right of selling her again. A slave of the master of the house, she is also that of his first wife, her mother-in-law, and sister-in-law.

In a case of adultery, she is punished under the same authority as that controlling the principal wife. The Chinese code, very rigorous from the standpoint of feminine virtue, grants the husband the right to kill the guilty woman as well as her accomplice. If the husband decides not to do this, the wife is usually sold to another husband and the sum received goes into the public treasury.

A poor Chinese is monogamous. But his wife's

social and juridical position is no better in consequence of this. She does not cease to be the shadow of the man. Whether in the lower classes, or among people in easy circumstances, the woman, while unmarried, belongs to the parents and, once wedded, she becomes the property of her husband.

Chinese legislators have merely codified the opinions current in their country. Here is one of these. The husband whose wife commits suicide after having been beaten and abused by him, must not be legally molested. Yet when a wife has beaten her husband's parents or her husband himself, she will be beheaded. In this differentiation of the punishments which the legislator applies to the two sexes, is displayed the whole social, political, and family inferiority from which woman suffers. But it must not be forgotten that of the number of souls peopling the world, the yellow races contain one third.

III. In the Berber World. Let us examine the situation of the Berber woman.

Sometimes finding herself on the level reserved for her among the blacks or the Mongolian peoples, she rises in other communities to heights unknown elsewhere. She almost commands man, who has a special consideration for her, placing her above other mortals. We might believe ourselves at the summit of civilisation, and we are only at one of its deviations. It is merely through a pure chance of evolution that people backward in certain relations seem from the standpoint of their manner of regarding woman to have equalled the most civilised nations.

This phenomenon shows itself especially among the

descendants of the Berber race. When we seek to fathom the causes of this so-called eccentricity, we find them in certain peculiar conditions of their social and economic existence.

There are thus oases of happiness for woman, as there are patches of verdure in the desert. In the long and toilsome journey which separates the subjection of woman from her future deliverance, she has sometimes found stages full of sweetness and repose. It might be said that ideas injurious to her dignity have stopped on the threshold of these sanctuaries, where woman, because woman, is regarded as the ornament and pride of the human race. Homage worthy of a chosen human being is lavished upon her, and men do not become either less brave or less happy on that account. A charm hitherto unknown adorns their lives and gives to these primitive peoples a varnish of subtle and refined civilisation. Yet woman's salvation will not come from this, because the honours lavished upon her are not the fruit of a juster comprehension of her dignity. She is, alas, only man's superior, and not his equal. This superstition of superiority will vanish in the contact with other peoples, other customs, other civilisations.

Among the Tuaregs, woman considers herself superior to her husband. She leaves domestic occupations to slaves and devotes herself to the arts of pleasing. She embroiders, plays on musical instruments, reads, or writes. There are some aristocratic peoples, the *Imanan* and the *Isoghas*, among which the women claim all the privileges and leave to their husbands the burdens of life. The Imanan women are reputed to be the heiresses of former sultans and consequently are much

sought. With the superstition found among many Eastern tribes in regard to noble blood, the Tuaregs revere it among even the most remote descendants of these perhaps merely apocryphal sultans. The sons of Imanan women even receive officially the much desired title of "scherif." Relieved from the cares of daily life, devoted to the arts and to horsemanship, the society of the Isogha ladies, as well as that of the Imanans, constitutes centres of attraction for the Tuaregs, who never weary in their admiration.

If we may believe the facts related by Duveyrier, who has devoted a most studious work to the Tuaregs of the north, the women of that country have revived, in those distant regions, the so-called chivalric customs of the troubadours. Worshipped and flattered, they show in their turn the preference which certain noble horsemen inspire in them. They embroider on their shields lines of poetry or prayers for good fortune. It is readily admitted that a woman may have one or even several platonic lovers. The husbands themselves, in spite of the jealousy which usually characterises the Mussulmans, do not take offence at this, "for the man and woman friend are for the eye and the heart," not for marriage, as the Arabs say. The useful is chiefly joined with the agreeable. Tuareg women enjoy free disposal of their property. Moreover, they receive much more careful education than the men. While the latter have forgotten the ancient Libyan writing, the *tefinagh*, the women still practise it, to the great joy of the archæologists.

There is in these women a resemblance to the violets which by accident have sprung up in the square of a great city. Out of their element, and not in accord with

their surroundings, they wither and disappear without leaving offspring. Isolated among other women, the Tuareg can preserve neither her vitality nor her charms. She disappears as the pressure of ideas, interests, and new men come to profane and destroy her artificial attractions, which belong neither to her time nor her country.

The Arab influence which permits none of these romantic subtleties has blown with its usual vehemence upon the descendants of the Berbers, and they have everywhere bowed to the laws of their conquerors.

The Kabyle woman has become almost as subject to men as the Arab woman is usually. In Great and Little Christian Kabylia, which have been better studied, the woman is held as the property of her father, her husband, or if these are lacking, of her male guardian. The very complete legislation concerning adultery is chiefly imbued with the thought that the woman in fault has committed an offence against the rights of her husband, who owns her as property.

The husbands usually obtain their wives by paying to those who have the right of ownership the price of *Thaumuth*. From that moment, the wives form a part of their husbands' fortune, almost by the same title as the other objects belonging to the men in their own right. Upon this right of ownership is grafted the feeling of vengeance of an outraged husband.

The law authorises the deceived husband to shave the head of the guilty wife and to turn her out of his house. He also has the right to kill her, but husbands rarely resort to this extreme measure, for things of value are not willingly destroyed. As public opinion requires an exemplary vengeance, husbands make

feigned attacks upon the lovers of their wives, but confine themselves in reality to compelling these to reimburse the sum paid for the woman's purchase.

Bastard children must be killed, and the same fate is adjudged to any woman or girl who while unwedded has given birth to a child. The husband can repudiate his wife upon any pretext; and he can also introduce other women into his household.

We see that the Kabyle woman has been able to preserve scarcely one of the numerous privileges formerly enjoyed by her Berber ancestress.

IV. The Egyptian Woman. It is curious to discover that woman has enjoyed the same privileged situation among the other descendants of the Berbers; for the Libyans, who are regarded as the founders of Egypt, are believed by the historians of antiquity to be identical with the Berbers. The two groups blended according to the teaching of anthropology in the so-called Mediterranean race, which comprised nearly all the peoples established in southern Europe and northern Africa, from the Gulf of Tripoli to the ocean, and from the southern frontiers of the great desert to the Mediterranean. But if the classic data of antiquity are correct, it will, nevertheless, be noticed that woman did not enjoy the same position in the same family of tribes.

The ancient Libyan populations had allowed woman in Egypt to profit by a mild and just legislation. Among the Fellahs of to-day, even the traces of these liberal laws have vanished. The position of women in the Egypt of the Pharaohs impresses us at the present time as in many respects surpassing in justice all that the Græco-Roman world bequeathed to Europe.

We find woman recognised as man's equal. She disposes freely of her property and her person. She inherits on equal terms with her brothers, and marries a husband of her own choice. She is respected even up to the steps of the throne, for the Egyptian kings, like the Incas of Peru, had their sisters at their side, as sister-queens, and the latter enjoyed all the honours claimed by royalty. The sister of the king, the great wife, had her own residence, went out of the palace at will, and shared the power with her brother-husband. She aided the king in offering the religious sacrifices, followed him in the processions, and acted as his substitute in affairs of state. Egyptian history has preserved the names of several widows prior to the reign of the first Ptolemy who were regents during the minority of the heir.

The peculiar respect bestowed upon woman, the part she plays in the history of the Pharaohs, support the argument that under the ancient organisation which had preceded that of the historical epoch, Egypt must have been divided into clans. Relationship on the mother's side, that is, coming through the mother, was the only one recognised. Thus, among the ancient Egyptians, as among all the primitive peoples who respected only maternal relationship, incest did not exist between the children who were sons and daughters of the same father, but only when they belonged to the same mother. The numerous inscriptions upon the tombs, as well as the deeds discovered in these later times, mention the mother's name, omitting that of the father. Woman is thus recognised as a dominant factor in family and social relations.

With the disappearance of the last vestiges of mater-

nal relationship, man conquers or reconquers his privileges at the expense of woman.

Whatever may be the cause, the position of the Egyptian woman, before the Græco-Roman epoch, was almost unique in history. All the conditions of life turned to her benefit; and it must be admitted that the Egypt of the Pharaohs gives evidence of a very advanced stage of civilisation. In spite of the polygamy adopted and practised on a large scale, woman has known how to safeguard her independence and the respect due to her personality. The "great wife," that is, the first or really legitimate wife, appeared to tolerate her husband's concubines, while guarding her own rights. Very often, in the marriage contract, she took her precautions in anticipation of future concubines. A forfeit was stipulated in her favour. She even had given to her mortgages upon her husband's property. Let him beware, if he did not succeed in appeasing her at the time he was preparing to enlarge the boundaries of his household. By forcing him to fulfil the clauses of the contract, she was in a position to ruin him and could thus compel him to bow to her commands and wishes.

Of course these rights were reserved only to women privileged by their birth or their fortune. Behind them moved the vast herd of the women of the people, almost always poor and needy, and condemned, like their husbands and children, to labour for the treasury of the Pharaohs. The severity of their toil, with the same privations and the same miseries, made the woman and the man fraternise.

The matrimonial contract, that charter of the Egyptian woman, was not in use among the poor. In this

class the women were delivered up to the caprices of their masters and husbands.

Egyptian slavery was doubtless less harsh than slavery among the other peoples, for everything preached to the subjects of the Pharaohs a sort of condescension to womanhood. The gods themselves sometimes assumed her sex and demanded the devout homage of mortals. *Isis* is the queen of the whole earth; *Men* is the goddess of truth; *Neith* is the mother of the sun and the queen of the divinities. She is all that has been, is, and will be.

The matrimonial contracts of the Egyptians have caused a great deal of ink to flow. Historians are perplexed by these strange documents, which prove that fifty centuries B.C. woman had known how to use her diplomatic talents. She gave evidence chiefly of a regrettable cupidity, indicating that, from the standpoint of greed for gain, she was worthy to rival man. With the passing of the centuries, these contracts harmful to husbands roused the whole country.

In their matrimonial contracts, women stipulated not only for conditions humiliating to the dignity of their husbands, but also for ruinous penalties for the most trivial peccadilloes. They reserved the possibility of divorce or of leaving the conjugal hearth, of going out freely, of attending to their pecuniary business. Thus, in a matrimonial contract discovered by E. Révillout, we read[1]: "If I should come to despise you, if I should love some other man than you, I shall give you money, etc."

In another contract, the woman obliges her husband in case he should decide to take another wife, to give her a

[1] *Egyptian Law.*

sum fixed in advance.[1] Often, the woman even reserves for herself the exclusive right of leaving her husband.

The situation steadily grew worse. Women, lured by the advantages their wealth procured for them, endeavoured by every possible means to add to their resources. They entered into the shrewdest operations by which to turn luck to their profit. Egypt began to grow uneasy over the deplorable results of this feminine supremacy, and disturbance followed. Profiting by the public indignation, King Ptolemy Philopater decreed that the wife could no longer dispose of her property without her husband's authority. At once woman, hitherto mistress of her fate, descended to the level of a minor. Dependent on the will of her parents or her husband, and subject to their wishes, woman found herself reduced to the part of a mere shadow. She descends from her time-honoured throne and vanishes among the herd of her equals who are deprived of personality and will.

V. Woman in Greece. The study of the representative types of woman through the ages would remain incomplete without a consideration of conditions in Greece and Rome. The evolution of the women of classic times has reacted powerfully upon the womanhood of our own times. Woman no less than man, from the standpoint of her moral and intellectual value, can be only the result of previous civilisations. The Græco-Roman woman, having set an indelible imprint upon our modern way of thinking and acting, presents, for that very reason, to sociologists desirous of illumining the mysteries of feminine evolution an interest of the first order.

[1] G. Paturet, *Juridical Condition of Woman in Ancient Egypt.*

Recent discoveries made at Mycenæ and Cnossus, as well as in Egypt, have caused Greek antiquity to recede to a remarkable degree. It is undeniable that long before Homer a refined civilisation had taken root in Asia Minor, as well as in Cyprus and Greece.

History thus partly opens a little window upon a still mysterious past of some ten centuries. This civilisation, called Pre-Mycenian, granted, it seems, to woman a position decidedly advantageous, compared with that of following epochs. The civilised governments that had preceded Homeric Greece, judging from the contemporary Egyptian documents of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as from the artistic productions, the costumes, and the relics of architecture that we owe to the discoveries of Schliemann, Evans, Mosso, and others, might have been even superior to the Greece of the ninth century. The women themselves appear to be more advanced and independent than those of Athens in the time of Socrates or Pericles.

This epoch remains, however, too indistinct for us to be able as yet to draw from it any positive and practical indications.

Later Greece, which is better known to us, in spite of the charm of its manners and its refined civilisation, did not arrive at the acceptance of woman as the equal of man. But her position, compared with that she held at the same period among less civilised peoples, appears endurable if not desirable. Regarded as an everlasting minor, she was in direct dependence upon her father, her husband, or the guardian who, for want of the former, exerted his rights of supervision of her person and her life.

The wife of the Greek of the heroic epoch is a piece

of property he has purchased, a slave more highly esteemed than the other slaves who are his concubines. He has full control over her, and if she disobeys, he can fasten her to a post and inflict the punishment of the whip.[1]

Homer, who relates this supreme insult offered by one man to another: "Thou art only a woman" (*Iliad*), best presents the mode of judgment of the Greeks. Their authors are by no means tender to woman, and not infrequently contemptuous. Plato does not conceal the profound distrust that she inspires in him. He goes so far as to blame Minos and Lycurgus for not having declared that women should belong to the citizens in common. Menander does not shrink from the grossest insults. He calls her either "gilded filth" or even "the greatest monster of earth and sea." Men claim a tyrannical superiority over the woman, and the latter does not even attempt to dispute the claim.

The way in which Telemachus, the model son, treats his mother, who was the model of women, is thoroughly typical:

"Return to thy apartment; busy thyself with thy work, thy spindle, the linen. . . . Speech is for men, especially for me, the master here."

And the good Penelope, greatly agitated, goes up to her apartments, committing to her soul the wise words of her son (*Odyssey*).

We know the annoying habit which husbands had of disposing of the fate of their wives after their own deaths. The custom would remain incomprehensible if we did not bear in mind the tragic destiny that awaited them when the husbands had gone. To save them from

[1] Glotz, *Solidarity of the Family in Ancient Greece.*

the often humiliating and cruel dependence upon third persons, if not on their own children, provident husbands bequeathed their wives to friends, with a share of their fortune.

Women led a secluded life in their gynecæums, protected from strangers, who were not admitted. The education given to them was of the most modest character. Yet, in prehistoric times, the Greek woman appeared to possess certain privileges which had apparently been preserved from the ancient organisation of the clans. An evidence of these survived in the importance attached to relationship through the mother.

In ante-Homeric Athens, according to numerous historians, children bore their mother's name. During that very remote epoch, women might even have voted in the popular assemblies. In consequence of inundations, in which they saw the wrath of Neptune, the Athenians withdrew from women the right to vote. From this date also they gave to the children their father's name. What degree of truth is there in this legend of women mingling in public affairs? There is no ground for affirming or for denying this. The relationship through the mother's side, however, appears to be certain. Homer furnishes many proofs in its support. Moreover, several centuries after Homer, a Greek citizen was forbidden to marry his sister who was born of the same mother. Yet marriage was permitted with one who was the child of the same father.

A reaction against woman followed; the old conception of consanguinity not being in accord with the ideas of the Greeks concerning woman, they elaborated a system of the generation of human beings which makes modern biologists smile. It is the father, they tell us,

who is the real creator of the child. The mother is only the nurse of the germ deposited. "She receives the germ and, if it is the will of the gods, she preserves it" (Æschylus, *Eumenides*). In Euripides, Orestes insists upon the same idea that woman receives the human germ "as the earth receives a seed which another might have entrusted to it."

In following this very broad theory, the Athenians admit the lending of women to their relatives and friends.

This peculiar manner of considering woman as remaining almost outside the creation of man had exerted a visible influence upon the punishment of adultery. It was no longer to the Athenians a crime as terrible as to the other nations. They even talk of it with an ingenuousness that would do no discredit to a modern libertine. The most serious of the philosophers, Socrates, would, we are told, have lent his wife, Xantippe, to Alcibiades.

The divine Homer jests about adultery as a trivial incident, occurring among the gods themselves. He even deigns to relate, with his humorous, pleasant candour, the tragic adventure which happened to Vulcan.

The blacksmith god, having suspected the fidelity of the peerless Venus, placed invisible steel nets around his couch and pretended to go away on a journey. Mars, too devoted to his wife, instantly descended, and both, prisoned in the nets, were thus at the mercy of the unfortunate husband. The latter, far from concealing his disgrace, summoned all Olympus to witness his misfortune. The victim of an adultery so compromising to his divine position, Vulcan demands nothing except

compensation for the rich gifts he had formerly bestowed upon his wife. The other gods openly laugh at his misfortune, Apollo even asserting that, in view of the modest indemnity required by Vulcan, he would not shrink, himself, from the happiness of Mars.

It is true that the legislators instituted punishments far more severe than the one asked by Vulcan, but these were rarely enforced. A sort of indulgent scorn appeared to protect the woman who committed adultery, in spite of the Draconian law which delivered the culprit to her husband's mercy.

The mother, being declared to have very little connection with the birth of her children, was deprived of her rights of inheritance. She could have no share of the property if there were male heirs.

We are presenting only the general ideas current in ancient Greece. But woman's position varied according to the peoples and their special laws. It is very evident that the facts previously cited relate only to the upper classes of society. The woman of the lower orders, condemned to labour and suffering, was deprived even of the few rare beneficial laws that protected the women belonging to her better born sisters. And this will continue down to our own times, and until legislators will shape laws for the protection of all the citizens, instead of for the advantage of a few chosen men and women.

The Greek poets and writers furnish us with numerous proofs that the situation of the women of the lower classes, that is, of the overwhelming majority, was extremely hard. Reduced to slavery, they were compelled to perform very toilsome tasks. They

turned the mill to crush the grain, tilled all day, long, or brought water from the springs.

Impressed by the idyllic pictures the poets give us, we lose sight of the fact that, behind the privileged world which stimulates literary inspiration, there exists a realm of the forgotten and humbled. These are far more numerous, and they lead a life full of privations and misfortunes.

To understand the tragical position of the women of the lower classes, we must not only read the descriptions given by Athenæus of the splendours of the banquets and the richness of the gifts with which the guests invited to the homes of the wealthy are entertained, but must reflect also upon the little pictures the same writer draws in Alexis about the meals of the poor: "There are five of us: my husband, who is very poor, I, who am old, my daughter, my little boy, and this maid servant. . . . When we have nothing to eat, we feed on our tears." Their bill of fare consists of "beans, turnips, lupines, bulbs, and wild pepper." But a divine food fit for Cybele's lips, is the "dried" fig.

What is to be said of the families and women who, still poorer than the aged wife of Alexis, had no servant and lacked even dried figs?

Gilded legends have assigned an enviable fate to the courtesans of ancient Greece. Wealthy and honoured, they even exerted a considerable influence in public affairs. The object of a special worship, they attracted all the men of Greece who were eminent in every domain.

Their position, in reality, was less brilliant. Compared with a small number of Aspasias or Phrynes, how many were the poor creatures who paid for the few

years of a luxurious and envied life by a whole existence of humiliations and wretchedness! Behind the rare goddesses of voluptuousness disappears the long train of hapless creatures abandoned to despair and misery. In ancient times, as well as at the present day, the high priestesses of love, adored in their youth for their wit and beauty, ended in their old age in poverty and suffering. Let us listen to what Epicrates says of that Laïs, so renowned in the beginning of her career for her charms:

> She has become lazy and drunken . . . and is like the eagles that, in the years of their strength, rush down from the mountains to carry off and devour the kids and hares as long as they have the power, but in their old age stay on the temple roofs, themselves devoured by hunger. . . . Since the years have brought Laïs to the end of her career and her whole beauty of person has fallen into ruin, she will go to drink with any one and a stater or a three-obol piece seems to her a fortune. She holds out her hand to every person without discrimination to receive the money he may be willing to slip into it.

VI. Woman in Rome. The Roman government, as history has recorded it for us, represented the culmination of paternal power. The head of the family regarded his daughters as belonging to him in his own right. He married them according to his pleasure and never resigned his power, even to his sons-in-law. During the centuries up to the reign of Antoninus, the father not only married off his daughters, but had them divorced, according to his whims and his interests.

The husbands, to preserve their power in regard to their wives, asked and obtained on certain conditions

the *manus*, which transferred the paternal rights for their benefit. According to a legal fiction, the wife then became her husband's daughter and the sister of her own children. The husband invested with the *manus* had peculiar privileges. He disposed of his wife as if she were a portion of his personal property. He even lent her, occasionally, to his relatives or friends. This is supported by numerous instances related in literature.

Let us recall, among so many others, this significant occurrence, of which Plutarch speaks: One of Cato's friends, Hortensius, asked him one day to lend him his daughter Porcia, married to Bibulus and the mother of two children. The object of Hortensius was most creditable. In his mind the point in question was merely to obtain, through the beautiful Porcia, a child worthy of a noble Roman.

Plutarch does not tell us the motives which prevented Cato's granting the wishes of his friend. Was it because his son-in-law Bibulus did not find this proposition to his taste, or because Hortensius did not insist unreasonably upon his singular desire?

Some time after, this same Hortensius, changing his mind, requested Cato to lend him his own wife, Martia. After having consulted his father-in-law, Philippus, Cato readily consented to the transaction. A contract in due form was drawn up between the three men, but there is not the slightest mention of the inclinations of Martia, the principal person interested. The fact that, in the highest Roman society, the husband could thus enter into arrangements so opposed to the dignity of his own wife, proves that the latter was compelled to yield, under all circumstances, to the husband or the

father, who were, according to the law, her absolute masters.

When to this is added the *concubinat*, formally authorised by the *Julian* and *Papia Poppea* laws, which permitted the husband to marry even his own slaves, liberated for the occasion, it will be easily understood that the woman's position was legally subordinated to the husband's will.

Yet we find it on the whole far more satisfactory than that of womanhood in ancient Greece. The Roman matron did not lead the restricted life of the gynæceums. She received with her husband and could share in the conversations at table.

The Roman matron went out freely and invited friends to her home. The education received by certain patrician women enabled them to be interested in public life, and to take part in the higher pleasures afforded by literature, eloquence, and music. There were, however, no schools for girls, and when, under Augustus, schools were established, the women were able to secure but insufficient instruction. The young patrician girls studied at home with their brothers. This explains the existence in Rome of women distinguishing themselves by their knowledge of the philosophical systems. In the main, however, this concerns only the exceptional women whose knowledge surprised their contemporaries and filled them with astonishment and admiration. Yet nothing has modified the civic personality of the woman. Her state of inferiority is maintained up to the disappearance of the Empire.

The data we possess concerning woman's position in Rome are somewhat contradictory. They show chiefly

a regrettable penury. The details of familiar life appeared to interest the classic writers far less than the battles against enemies without, the political struggles within, or the luxurious existence of the Cæsars. Enough is known, however, to make certain that the Roman matron was in every case more respected and more independent than the Grecian woman.

Certain formulas of style, in use among the Romans, give a false idea of the real position of woman. As she was *in the hands of the husband* (*in manu mariti*), it was concluded that she belonged to him by right. But the husband was not the absolute master of his wife, for the law and customs rigorously limited the degree and the conditions of the punishment which he could inflict upon her. Nor could the husband repudiate his wife at his pleasure. The noble definition of marriage as the holding in common of every divine and human right,[1] as a partnership for all the affairs of life, shows the respect bestowed upon woman whose service it is to complete man. Could it be otherwise when we think of all the heroines, Lucretia, Clelia, Arria, Cornelia, or Virginia, whose names remain in our memories and glide into the hearts of the young generations? Besides, many illustrious men speak with veneration of their wives and their mothers, to whom they render thanks for having taught them virtue in every form. Marcus Aurelius affirms that his venerable mother had reared him not only to do no evil, but even to shun wicked thoughts.

The funeral eulogy composed by Propertius for Cornelia, the daughter-in-law of Augustus, proves that the

[1] *Divini et humani juris communicatio* (definition of the lawyer Modestinus in the *Digeste*).

Roman women often attained a degree of moral dignity that permits no doubt of their noble manner of living and of the respect which men lavished upon them.

In conformity with the laws, Cornelia pleads her own cause. She reviews her whole existence and presents it to us with touching simplicity. The language the poet gives to her can only be in harmony with the customs and principles of the period. The wife of L. Æmilius Paulus addresses herself to her husband in these words:

I entrust to you our children, the pledge of our mutual affection. Father, be a mother to them, clasp in your embrace this whole flock of my little ones. When you have given them, amid their tears, your own kisses, add their mother's also. . . . If you must mourn, let it be in their absence; when they come, dry your cheeks to deceive their caresses. . . .

Farther on, Cornelia considers the possibility of her husband's marrying again. In words that would move the most hardened hearts, she urges her children to contend with their stepmother only by gentleness. The generosity of feeling which the poet attributes to Cornelia, the dignified manner in which she addresses her husband, proves how far this model wife could oppose her own personality to that of Æmilius. Family ties bound them together so closely, that all the prejudices of inferiority must vanish before their unity of life and mutual affection for their children.

The love, so passionate and so respectful, which a Quintilian or a Pliny felt for their wives, attests the worth of certain Roman women.

The thought of these strong, magnanimous women

renders it easy to comprehend the majesty of the Roman marriage. A poet like Catullus can forget his proverbial levity, when he touches upon a subject so momentous to his fellow-citizens.

. . . Without thee [marriage] Venus can have no pleasure approved by honour; but she can if it is thy will: who would venture to be compared with a god like thee?

. . . Without thee, no house can possess children, no father can rely upon a posterity; but this may be if thou dost will it: who would venture to be compared to a god like thee?

In marriage, an institution sacred among all, the family and the native land are chiefly interested.

Roman matrons utilise on occasion the privileged position which the civic priesthood they are supposed to exercise creates for them. Thus the noble Porcia, Cato's daughter, says to her husband Brutus:

"I did not wed thee solely to be at thy side in bed or at board, like a courtesan, but to take my share of whatever may befall thee, whether good or evil."

Of course it must not be forgotten that Roman history has preserved for us only heroic names, highly gifted women, and superior characters. The Cornelias and Porcias were probably rarer than we think, which would account for the special tributes rendered by poets and historians. Yet one characteristic fact appears to stand forth in the evolution of the Roman marriage. Woman at first was revered only through marriage, and later marriage itself had its objects elevated in the interests of the family and the State.

Woman did not exist for herself, but only as a wife whose duty it is to give children to the native land.

She was held sacred and respected only as a probable or actual mother. One might say of every Roman what Lucan said of Cato:

"Love for him has but one object: children; it is for the State that he is a father, for the State that he is a husband."

The Roman woman, in comparison with the Greek woman, is ennobled. With the practical mind that characterised the Romans, they fully understood that, without a worthy mother, there can be no children of value, and they endeavoured to place the woman in the most favourable conditions to create good citizens. But the woman, as a human personality, does not enter into this calculation. No Roman author, to my knowledge, appears to be occupied with the feminine problem from this standpoint. Writers relate the bad treatment inflicted upon women, as well as their legal and civic inferiority in Rome or among barbarian peoples, as a logical consequence of natural laws, human and divine.

Twenty centuries more were to pass before woman could urge her value as a human being to be equal to that of her companion.

Certain moral conceptions, like plants, can spring up only under the influence of favourable conditions. Religions, like laws, must remain silent until the progress of ideas and customs succeeds in demolishing ancient prejudices, and replacing these by a few truths that are continuing to make the conquest of the world.

This is why the Roman woman has been able to reach abuses in divorce, to overawe, and even tyrannise over her husband without, however, arriving at the shadow of an equality of rights. The trunk of marriage

took such deep root in Roman soil, that its branches could support even the caprices of feminine frivolity, rendering the majesty of Roman husbands doubtful or ridiculous. As marriage is not only a religious act, but chiefly a civil and social contract, it was necessary to leave to the contracting parties the possibility of breaking it. As the religious and primitive character of marriage vanishes, and its profane basis triumphs, divorce, which constitutes the rupture of the contract, becomes more frequent and easy.

Marriage and family life lose their dignity without woman's being able to gain a tithe of rights or the shadow of greater consideration. Satirists relate acts of depravity difficult to believe. The libertinism of women daily increased. According to Martial, a certain Thessalina married ten husbands in a single month.

The excesses went so far that not only the legislators, but the poets, even among the most licentious, like Horace or Ovid, rebel against a condition of things in which marriages, grown more and more rare, are terminated so easily by the divorce or separation of the couple. It is noteworthy that all the poets who thundered against celibacy avoided, for themselves, the charm and sweetness of wedded life.

Horace, as well as Tibullus, Virgil, and Propertius, remain hardened bachelors and live to the detriment of the conjugal ties of their friends. The Emperor Augustus, who is glorified for having attempted to purify morals, divorces, marries a divorced woman, and compels his daughter to wed successively all the presumptive heirs to the crown.

The Stoics, thanks to their doctrine and the example

of their lives, try to realise for themselves what the best intentioned legislators have not known how to accomplish. They endeavour to elevate marriage and to render divorce difficult, if not impossible. But their doctrine, as well as their example, was adapted only to the chosen few. The first rays of dawning Christianity illumine dimly Roman family life, in which woman was delivered to numerous abuses, while having a minimum of consideration. The example of the Rome of the Cæsars is perhaps one of the most eloquent in demonstrating that the dignity and the triumph of feminine personality have nothing in common with the laxity of conjugal life or with free love.

In Rome, as everywhere, we must distinguish between the position of the rich and the poor woman. The latter, far more numerous, contracted marriage under singular conditions. Instead of solemn ceremonies, the women of the lower classes had the right only to "a marriage by custom," which was reduced to a simple declaration made before several witnesses. Their existence was kept still more in the background.

The change in economical conditions later modifies the position of woman. The custom of the marriage portion, among others, had brought many alterations. At first optional, the dowry was later imposed as an obligation upon the parents. This property, bestowed at marriage, distinguished the society woman from the member of the lower classes. The husband had only the right of usufruct and was thereby kept in a certain dependence. A series of consecutive laws afterward tried to guard the wife's fortune from the rapacity or extravagant tastes of the husband. This was what produced the famous dotal system which prohibited

married couples from making each other gifts during their lifetime, and prevented the husband from taking possession of his wife's fortune even with her consent.

The wife, by this system, gains a sort of economic personality, the dignity and importance of a source of income. This did not prevent her from being often despised or ill-treated, but it nevertheless secured for her a legal existence. Woman, when occasion requires, exerts her privileges. At the death of either husband or wife, at the time of the establishing in business or the marriage of the children, funds from the wife's dowry were made available and this secured for her a preponderating and often decisive voice.

But in Rome, as well as in modern times, the dowry has been able to secure for woman only a business position. Her dignity as a human being has not been enhanced by it. On the contrary, the often privileged position assured through the ownership of her dowry only aroused her tendency toward evil. Always inferior to her husband, she grasped this opportunity to subdue or to humble him. Roman poets and moralists had already described the often grotesque and sometimes even profoundly dubious and immoral part which in certain instances material dependence upon their wives inflicted on the husbands. A depravity of morals followed to the injury of both. Husbands, shunning the penalties inflicted upon bachelors, gave their names to adventuresses and, as consideration for the price paid by their wives, passed without disapproval their lapses from morality.

The facts quoted by the historians refer chiefly to the women belonging to the higher classes of Roman

society. The poor women have been neglected both by the laws and the chroniclers. Their life is less known to us; but we must not forget how much more considerable was their number than that of the women privileged by birth and fortune.

Slavery flourished in Rome. Even at the beginning of the Empire, the number of slaves of both sexes was equal to the free population of Rome; in the country, it was much larger. Thanks to the inhuman laws concerning insolvent debtors, the latter also became slaves. Into this class also entered the children who were not acknowledged by their parents and the poor who sold themselves to escape from want. When we add the prisoners of war and the human merchandise the pirates and traders brought to the Roman Empire, it is easily perceived that the number of women growing up almost outside of the laws was always far above the privileged beings forming what was known as Roman society. The fate of these slaves was lamentable. The children belonged to the masters, who exercised almost the right of life and death.

The class of courtesans remains. According to Plautus, they were as numerous in Rome as flies during a warm day. Their life, compared with that of the daughters of joy in Greece, resembles what we observe in our own times in France and in England. In Greece they had a much more brilliant position. Men almost gloried in appearing in their society. In Rome they were visited secretly. Yet, though invisible, they played no less important a part in the mechanism of Roman life.

Adored or publicly repudiated, the courtesan is equally unhappy. Alexis, quoted by Athenæus, fur-

nishes pictures of her life as sorrowful and humiliating as those of Epicrates devoted to the Greek courtesan.

It would be useless to seek the emancipated woman either at the summit or in the lower depths of Roman society. The great license of morals above has for its equivalent the distress and the disregard of the elementary rights existing among those below. Whether placing herself, in fact, above man, or being reduced to be merely his slave or his toy, woman will always be regarded as an inferior being, holding the middle place between the free man and his slave.

Christianity will become one of the great factors of civilisation which will elevate the position of womanhood. Its appeal to human dignity will have profound results upon woman's future, results such as could not be secured for her by the institution of the marriage dower.

VII. The Jewish Woman. The evolution of the numerous peoples forming the fasces of the Semitic race has followed diverse paths; and we encounter its offshoots in different phases of their social and political life. The analogy of their customs frequently exists only upon the surface. Their political institutions of different nature, their diametrically opposed religions, have ended by separating the moral and intellectual life of the peoples whom we associate as derived from the same stock. Woman's situation varies from people to people and from age to age. Yet there are certain general principles maintained among the majority of Asiatic peoples, and especially among the Jews,[1] as well

[1] Let us remember, as we go on, that according to new historical and anthropological researches, the Jews would not form a part of the Semitic races. See *The Death-Agony of Races* (*L'Agonie et la Mort des Races*), by Jean Finot.

as all the Arab tribes, whose conceptions, thanks to Islamism, have ended by being implanted in a large portion of humanity. It is the general contention of all these nations that woman is from every standpoint inferior to man. The divine laws and those of men, religions, the code, and customs are in accord in this respect.

With the Jews, as among other Asiatics, woman is regarded as forming part of the property of the head of the family. He feeds her and in case of need sells her. She must work and bear children. There is no question of her rights, only of her duties. If barren, she becomes odious to her husband who without formality drives her away. At the period when history takes up the Jewish patriarchs, they already show a mentality and a morality far superior to those of the surrounding peoples. Yet polygamy flourished among them. Jacob marries two sisters: Leah and Rachel; Abraham has a child by his bondwoman, and afterwards drives both into the wilderness. The daughter is sold to the future son-in-law and Jacob works fourteen years to be able to marry consecutively his two wives. The seducer, in taking advantage of a young girl, will only have to pay the father a sum fixed in advance, and he incurs no farther responsibility.

For a long time women received no consideration under the law. It was only at a late period of Jewish history that their consent was required for a marriage.

Polygamy was not wholly in accord with the Hebrew taste; but there is no doubt that it was practised and permitted. It is needless to say that it could not be condemned by the laws and customs, since King Solomon, who surpassed in wisdom all other men (1 Kings

iv), had a harem that contained more than seven hundred women.

If the married woman's position was not very enviable, that of the widow was utterly deplorable. Woman was regarded solely as a means of perpetuating the family. A childless widow must marry her deceased husband's brother. Children born of these marriages were considered offspring of the dead man, and thus the latter's name "was not effaced in Israel" (Genesis).

The woman's will and happiness count for nothing. She must sacrifice her life to the name of her departed husband. But while she could only yield, the man had the right to refuse to submit to the sometimes cruel duty imposed by the law. The woman thus deserted could only disqualify her brother-in-law by spitting in his face and snatching off one of his sandals. While remaining in dependence on her children, she did not inherit from her husband, nor even from her father, if he had male heirs.

When we add the severe penalties which punished the woman taken in adultery (stoning), and the facilities granted to the husband when he desired to rid himself of his wife, we shall readily understand that the Jewish woman like her sisters of other races was subjected to every misfortune and humiliation.

Let us add, besides, that there was not one school for girls in all Judea. Woman could not testify in a court of law, and was compelled to submit strictly to the will of her father or her husband.

The orthodox Jews, who still exist in our own times, outside of modern civilisation, and who remain faithful to the customs prescribed by the Bible, present a

striking picture of what must have been the life of the Jewish woman in Palestine. They do not cease to regard her as a being inferior to man, and at certain periods of life as impure. The series of misfortunes which prostrated the people of Israel, their retirement from public life and isolation in their homes, have brought the two sexes intimately together. Polygamy vanished long ago. Fathers worship their children and lead a chaste and exemplary life. The wife, while well treated, is esteemed only as the mother of her children. Girls have little or no consideration. Repudiation for barrenness is regarded as an inevitable thing. Now, as well as in the days of the Prophets, it is sufficient for these simple souls to give to the wife a letter of divorce, written by the husband, to make the repudiation legal.

The affection existing between husband and wife has in no degree modified the essential ideas of woman and her human rights. While respecting his mother or loving his wife, the Jew, reared in the principles dear to his ancestors three thousand years ago, does not cease to regard woman as a being far below him in the divine favour and in the esteem of his fellows. This is one more proof that civilisation, with its ideas, reacts upon our manner of appreciating woman.

VIII. The Christian Woman. The goodness and gentleness of Jesus have been reflected upon the situation of woman. The Saviour's unutterable tenderness for the weak and the wretched could not fail to be also exerted upon her who had the greatest need. The divine words of pity for saintly or fallen women are graven indelibly on the human conscience and are never to be forgotten.

Seekers for contradictions find a profusion in the Christian doctrine. By the side of words of love and profound affection for women, there are others impressed with harshness and contempt. This is because Jesus was not a feminist after the fashion of the friends of woman in our day. In order to grasp the importance of His sentences, so lofty in their humanity, it is not necessary to lose sight of the opinions rooted in His contemporaries. In contrast to the conceptions of woman's organic and intellectual inferiority, which predominated in Semitic and Roman society, the teaching of Jesus flashed like a summons for deliverance.

Woman, for the first time, was considered as a creature equal to man. The matter in question did not concern exceptional women: queens, princesses, or priestesses of a worship, but woman as compared with man. Jesus welcomed both sexes by the same title: they are alike children of God. His kingdom is promised to whoever—man or woman—shall observe His commandments. The exaltation and the worship of the Virgin Mary, imposed upon men as well as on women, must later have impressed many generations of Christians. The religion of Jesus showed itself also just and charitable to women vowed to celibacy. Despised and deserted in the ancient civilisation, they find themselves as believers rehabilitated and extolled. Christianity rears altars to them and regards them as saints. Swept away by their ardour, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and other Fathers of the Church sanctify virginity. They declare it pleasing to God. The apostle Saint John himself, in his apocalyptic visions, shows us a great train of virgins crossing the heavens.

Mothers and widows, in their turn, share in these

testimonials of goodness and justice. The women who have joined the cause of Christianity serve it with love and intelligence. All the virtues of which they are capable shine in their propaganda of the divine word, and in the martyrdom which they demand and endure for the faith. Paganism, at once alarmed, sought by cruelty to turn women from the new beliefs. Then, charmed and conquered, it followed the paths inaugurated by them and embraced with piety "the truth of woman." This was a revenge worthy of the sex that had always been despised! By her courage, her patience, her intelligence, her devotion and, above all, her profound and comprehensive goodness she has been able to command the admiration of the world.

To those who still doubt the abilities of woman, she has only to recall that Christianity owes its final victory chiefly to the virtues of her whom man never ceases to slander.

Étienne Lamy points out that, even later, the zeal of woman furthered the influence of evangelical wisdom upon European morals while these were in process of formation; for it is she who "gave to the Church the most constant, the most devoted, and the most positive assistance."

Even ten centuries after Jesus, Christianity can maintain itself and make fresh conquests only through the support it owes to woman's energy, seconded by her intelligence. As she has thus helped to transform the world, it would certainly be unjust to deem her unworthy of contributing to the evolution of its destinies.

Yet the attitude of Christianity toward woman has been severely judged by many philosophers and

historians. They have not understood that the heart is rarely bound by logic or dogmas. Inspired by goodness and pity, the doctrine of Jesus shows some weaknesses of principles and uncertainties in its purpose. Woman, sometimes sanctified and elevated to heavenly heights, finds herself sometimes lowered to the level of a servant of man. Fascinated by eternal salvation, Christ has sacrificed to its principles marriage and the family.

"In the resurrection, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage" (Saint Matthew, xxii). "There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (*Idem*, xix). In his sublime dream of human fraternity, Jesus has perhaps neglected the bonds imposed by marriage and the worship of maternity, that safeguard of woman in every age.

Christianity, whose mission was to redeem mankind in general, has not delivered woman in particular. She will yet wait a series of centuries before regaining her full dignity. But the impetus has been given. And if the Christian doctrine has not solved the problem of woman, it has at least furnished a mould in which its future conquests will be sheltered. The divine principle of equality is written in the Gospel. It animates its best pages and its most important lessons. What does their false and improper interpretation matter?

There are religions, as well as works which we find pleasure in reading and contemplating. We discover in them rather the contents of our own souls than of the beloved or admired authors. Each reader, as well as each epoch, scans them with a different spirit and finds divergent principles and thoughts.

Upon so humane a background, imprinted, moreover,

with so exquisite a kindness toward woman, the centuries which have followed the birth of Christianity have graven only injustice and scorn. The Middle Ages were especially cruel to her. Under the influence of the Gospel, misunderstood and falsely applied, marriage was abased and women were made to descend several steps.

A mirage created by the troubadours and the courts of love shows her to us in the plenitude of her rights and all the beauty of her charms. But a deeper study of the woman of those blessed times makes the mask fall, and reveals her face worn by tears and sufferings. We must reach the very recent period to witness the birth of the new woman, who will understand that the conquest of her whole dignity will be gained only by herself, through work done for the benefit of her own sisters.

Christianity has elevated woman, but it has not delivered her. There is something wavering, undecided, and even uncertain in the manner in which she is viewed by the Church. Jesus Christ bent over her with divine goodness, but not with a preconceived idea of breaking her time-honoured fetters. Besides, the times were not propitious for her deliverance. The apostles often contradict each other in their opinions of woman. This contradiction, however, is only superficial. They mourn over her sorrows, for she is a child of God by the same title as man. She has a right to the same salvation as her father, her brother, or her husband. But it does not follow that she should have the same civic and political rights as man. Is she at least his equal from the intellectual or moral standpoint? The Church does not appear so to believe. Marriage being only an inevitable evil and maternity a necessary one,

woman cannot make amends for her inferiority by her virtues as mother or wife. "It is better to marry than to burn"—these words of Saint Paul best sum up the ideas of the Church concerning marriage.

The apostles, simple-minded men, brought to the Church, with their superhuman zeal, antiquated ideas drawn from their environment. They were Orientals, with all the prejudices against women that mark them down to our own days. The Gospel, the emanation of their souls and their minds is, therefore, filled with utterances humiliating to feminine dignity.

"Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law."—Saint Paul, First Epistle to the Corinthians, xiv, 34.

"For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man."—Saint Paul, First Epistle to the Corinthians, xi, 8, 9.

"But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."[1]—Saint Paul, First Epistle to Timothy, ii, 12.

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord."—Saint Paul, Epistle to the Ephesians, v, 22.

Saint Jerome supports the argument that all evil comes from woman, while Saint Augustine denies her the honour of incarnating the image of the Saviour to

[1] Vir quidem, inquit, non debet velare caput, cum sit imago et gloria Dei; mulier autem, inquit, velet caput. Quare? Quia non est imago Dei. Unde denuo dicit apostulus: mulieri autem docere non permittur, neque dominari in virum (Migne, vol. xxxv).

the same degree as man. That is even the reason, he says, that she wears the veil.

And, as the apostle says: "She must not instruct nor rule her husband."

Saint Augustine preferred celibacy to marriage. To Tertullian, children form an obstacle in the way of salvation, while Saint Ambrose teaches, with touching simplicity, that celibacy is the state of the angels. Then how deny the fall that marriage causes? In any case, the young girl has only to bow to her parents' will. Without their consent, marriage is only a crime of fornication.[1]

This inferiority of woman, erected into a religious dogma, has its repercussion through the centuries.

Christianity has not solved the woman problem, but it has given a lasting impetus to the solution of several of its phases. It does not speak of the equality of the sexes, but it assigns to woman a place in the kingdom of God equal to that of man. It makes her profit by the privileges of the pardon, the resurrection, and the divine grace. Besides, the Gospel is full of compassion for woman. In the parable of "the lost piece of silver" or "the unjust judge" (Luke), Christ shows her to the people as incarnating the principal Christian virtues.

The point in question was an act of pity toward humiliated human beings, and Jesus went to the extreme of mercy.

But equality of rights upon earth is a thing superfluous with regard to the future life, and this side of the question, omitted by the Saviour as premature for the period, has remained intact in the Christian doctrine.

[1] Matrimonia sine iis, qui potestatem habent, fornicationes sunt (Batilius).

Even goodness, when it is of divine essence, does not replace justice. The woman who shines in the first rank among the faithful finds herself kept aloof from every honour. She will have only that of the martyr, which she will not cease to claim through the centuries, and which no one will be able to refuse or wish to grudge her.

She will have no place among the twelve apostles, the immediate associates of Christ. Not one woman will be admitted among the seventy disciples sent forth on a mission. When, later, the object is to organise Christian aid, a *diaconate* will be created and its seven members, commissioned for the service of the tables and the internal organisation, will be recruited exclusively among the men. Woman will be excluded from the priesthood. She who, during the centuries, has been amid the sorrows, will be held outside of the pleasant things which will flow abundantly toward the triumphant church. During all this time women attack the faithless by persuasion, amazing them by their courage, convincing them by their example, and drawing them into the bosom of the Church by their sublime virtues. Saint Jerome declares that women were equal to men so long as he had martyrs to suffer among them. The *Lives of the Saints* and the *Book of Martyrs* shine with examples of heroism taken from the lives of women. It is a celestial constellation, full of stars of the first magnitude. The life of Paula is that of thousands of Roman women who resign, upon Christ's altar, their titles, their wealth, even their beauty. They not only knew how to die for their faith, but they also knew how to live and labour for Christ. Such is Mary, the Egyptian woman, who abandons her life as a courtesan

and buries herself in the desert. There, for thirty years, she eats nothing but weeds, and walks naked under a scorching sun, wrapped as if in a shroud in her long hair which has turned perfectly white. Fabiola goes through the streets of Rome bearing lepers on her shoulders. Patrician women give their fortunes to the poor and resign themselves to lead a wretched life among the droves of men and women who are persecuted, despised, and hunted.

Christianity has thus afforded woman the possibility of showing that she is man's equal in everything that distinguishes and honours the human race: courage, goodness, sacrifice, and persevering and intelligent devotion. When later her virile qualifications are brought into question, she will only have to show her glorious share in the foundation of Christianity. During the Christian ages she has given proof of qualities and virtues which man has been able to equal, but never to surpass.

Faithful to its heavenly mission, Christianity will thus be satisfied with the slavery of woman. It will recruit among them its faithful followers and its saints. It will confide to them the mission of propagating and consolidating the divine truth and the temporal power of the Church, but will in no way intervene in the settlement of the accounts between the two sexes. After all, to deliver woman, it would have been necessary that she should feel the need of being liberated. Now this desire shows itself among women principally toward the close of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the great tempest of equality which then shook the whole civilised world.

Yet it would be difficult to generalise. As always

the rights of woman varied according to the nations and the degree of their civilisation. In entering a country, Christianity could only accommodate itself to the position there made for woman. Its principles of goodness and mercy were grafted peaceably upon the past. As among the ancient Germans, woman had a position far more enviable than among the Gauls, still her fate is relatively better after the introduction of Christianity.

From time immemorial, woman enjoyed a certain esteem among the Germans. The German Olympus is peopled with feminine divinities. Freya corresponds to the Greek Venus; the Norns are the Fates. The Valkyrie and the other divinities of a secondary order were recruited among the women. The latter were permitted to celebrate certain religious rites and to interpret omens. All this secured to the German woman a respect not known among the other nations.

The primitive Gauls were much more cruel toward woman. The father had the right of life and death over his children. Gradually the relations between the two sexes became crystallised in mediæval Europe under the direct or indirect influence of the Roman code and the Christian precepts. It would be tiresome to attempt to study the deep or superficial differences which separated the legal position of women in the various countries up to the recent period.

Woman was regarded in a general way as being essentially inferior to man. The legislative variations, issued sometimes according to the temperaments of the peoples and their historic past, or for transitory reasons, possess little importance, for the principle of unquestionable and unquestioned inferiority does not cease to dominate the whole feminine life. Woman's education

felt it in the first place. She was considered as a useless and even harmful luxury. The Middle Ages did their utmost to degrade woman instead of elevating her.

A writer of the sixteenth century, Agrippa d'Aubigné, tells us that from her earliest youth, woman was reared in idleness trained for dancing. "She appropriates to herself only the passions, libertinism, and adultery." The same moralist, forgetting the causes, will show in a pitiless fashion their effect, all their effects. He speaks of woman as belonging to "a race that is flighty, impudent, proud, dissolute, vindictive, obstinate, gossiping, idle, and evil-tongued."

From time to time exceptional women appear and seem, by their talents and their admirable lives, to protest against the erroneous opinions of their contemporaries. Among their number we find queens, scholars, founders of religious orders, who display abilities for organisation and executive work of the highest importance, saints, and finally women who deliver their native countries.

Rare meteors in the evolution of the times, these heroines do not greatly modify the mentality of their contemporaries. The sex prejudice still remains, during long centuries, omnipotent in the face of the arguments brought against it by the realities of life.

Napoleon I. admirably summarises the dominant ideas of his time concerning woman by these few sentences bequeathed to us in his *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène:* "Woman is given to man that she may give birth to children. Woman is our property, but we are not hers. She is man's property, as the tree is the gardener's."

IX. Conclusion. The data of modern science reduce

to insignificance the famous doctrine of primitive man, personifying all the virtues. According to this theory, of which Rousseau was the most influential and eloquent apostle, it is civilisation that has perverted man, and has destroyed his goodness and his innate honesty.

When we study certain primitive tribes that have remained free from the assault of modern ideas, it is easily perceived that this asserted gentleness of manners is often merely a deceptive illusion. It vanishes as soon as we descend from the sphere of a preconceived phraseology into that of carefully observed and thoroughly examined facts.

Primitive humanity, realising all the moral perfections, fails especially with respect to woman. When the life of remote epochs is examined, it is readily perceived that the famous institution of the "matriarchate" is only a myth. According to its adepts, there was a phase in the evolution of woman when she reigned as sovereign. Children and men bowed before her. Crowned with the halo of motherhood, she exercised a discretionary power over all the members of her family. It was only with the passage of time that she lost her privileges of queen to descend to the level of a slave. This dream of feminine domination is merely a dream. Like all the beautiful inventions with which mankind regilded the first period of the centuries, it also disappears in our days under the light of criticism.

The study of the customs of the savages and primitive peoples whom civilisation has left intact can permit no doubt on this subject. The lower a people is from the standpoint of its civilisation, the more unsatisfactory is the position of woman. Justice for her begins to appear only with the moral and intellectual development of the

men themselves. But progress does not follow a straight line. Unfolding in spiral form, it often leads us backward to make us afterward mount higher, ever higher. For instance, it will be proved that woman had a better position in ancient Egypt than in the Egypt of our times. These retrograde movements only confirm the general rule.

Does it follow that man, in the distant past, lived in a state of bestiality? Exaggerations in both directions would be equally dangerous. Life has always had its exigencies, and will never cease to have them. Our ancestors of the paleolithic period doubtless endured existence in a more imperious manner. The material advances, since secured, enable us to hold our ground more easily against external circumstances. We struggle more successfully and often manage to checkmate the evil influences. Primitive man found himself more at the mercy of the implacable conditions of his environment, becoming through this very fact, harder, more savage, and more cruel. Brute force was the essential element of his existence, he bowed chiefly to its manifestations. Being constantly compelled to resort to it, he could respect only men stronger than he, and despised those who were his inferiors.

Woman, the weaker, was by that very fact to be considered as below man. A strange theory concerning the conception of living beings, admitted in nearly all the primitive civilisations, even snatched from womanhood the benefit of maternity.

In the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, Apollo solemnly proclaims it: "You are a mother," he says, "but it is not you who have really given life to your child. You are only the *nurse of the germ* new-born. The mother,

a *stranger to the guest* whom she has received, shelters the child to the end, if heaven does not intervene."

The Greeks undoubtedly inherited this idea from the Egyptians, who had drawn it from the simple beliefs of the primitive men.

Diodorus of Sicily brings us an unsuspected testimony to this. "No child," he says, "is considered illegitimate in Egypt, even though it is born of a slave mother, for, according to the common belief, the father is the sole author of the child's birth; the mother has furnished only its food and dwelling."

This strange theory also predominates among the other peoples in a more or less clear or abstract way.

The preponderance of man in the processes of generation had its effect in the worship of ancestors, the dominant religion among the majority of the peoples of ancient times. They had in view only masculine ancestors. Veneration or deification was granted only to men. Woman was completely excluded from it, not only in the other world, but in the present life. The head of the family, invested with the priesthood, centralised in his own person material and spiritual power. Woman, reduced to the part of a mere transmitter of the germ, the sacred torch that must maintain the life of successive generations, lost her cause for existence when she was sterile. She was expelled from the home. Without considering her preferences or objections, she was also obliged to marry her dead husband's brother. She was fortunate if she could thus shelter her wretched and changed existence. Often prematurely aged, deprived of property, for she did not inherit from her husband, she anxiously awaited, dependent upon her

children, for the final deliverance that death alone could bring.

What is to be said finally of the numerous tribes that, under the influence of the survival of the clans, permitted certain barbarous customs which compelled women to subject themselves to the entire community of men? For in the very remote periods before the establishment of marriage, women, according to prehistoric anthropology, were for all the members of the clan. According to Greek beliefs, long before Cecrops, who instituted marriage, women belonged to all, and no one could know the real author of his being. The father's part is thus effaced, but the mother's was not in consequence elevated.

The numerous ramifications which have grown upon the tree of inequality have led us into error concerning causes and reasons. Mankind has some difficulty in remembering the modest origin of things.

Woman, enslaved as being the weaker, has continued to be treated in this manner, even in a time when brute force has been compelled to bow before intelligence and reason. The tears of tenderness shed over the memory of these springtimes of humanity are therefore shed in vain. Nothing justifies them. Let us add that all the nations have, of course, been through their period of savagery if not of bestiality.

Yet they show themselves to us under different forms. Everything depends upon the period of their evolution in which we succeed in observing them. Everything depends also upon the more or less advantageous conditions that influence the duration of their barbarous period.

The goodness and justice which, with time, penetrate

the reciprocal relations of men, vivify and embellish, in their turn, the relations which are established between the sexes.

One law of great importance is evolved from the whole collection of facts previously examined. *Woman's position broadens and improves with the march of civilisation and human progress.*

Woman finds herself more honoured where the entire total of knowledge acquired and conquests realised over nature have made man pass beyond the stage of barbarism. The situation of the Greek, Egyptian, or Roman woman would doubtless be unsatisfactory from the standpoint of our modern ideas. But it is sufficient merely to compare it with that which fell to the lot of woman among the primitive or savage tribes, to perceive the advantages which are assured to her through a higher civilisation.

A civilisation embraces an incalculable collection of facts and ideas. The asserted infractions of these laws are often only manifestations of our incapacity of knowing and judging them. As this hypothesis explains the largest number of the doubts concerning the past, and illumines in a plausible manner those of the future, it has every chance of being true.

In its generality, it agrees with the opinion admitted by the majority of sociologists—namely, that justice increasing with responsibility and the individualistic current, woman is finding and will find her salvation in the triumph of individualism.

But individualism is only one of the forms of social life. Preponderating or conquered, it cannot condense within itself the future of woman and humanity. Both can develop outside of, and even against, individu-

alism. What is important is that the fate of woman should be again attached to progress itself—that is, to the common trunk on which depends the future of all mankind.

Everything induces the belief that we are moving toward greater and greater conquests over nature, that progress is and will remain the goal of all our activity. The amelioration of woman's fate, by this very fact, is identified with the future of human society.

Let us point out another discovery which permits a no less encouraging certainty. The march of civilisation carries with it the diminution of the part played by violence and brute strength. Civility, gentleness of manners, kindness, and altruism are implanted in their place. Right or wrong, these qualities are regarded as being in essence feminine. So, with progress, man aspires to resemble woman and in short, from the moral and social standpoint, he is feminising himself.

As woman has long possessed the qualities toward which the modern man is aiming, she will find herself, for that very reason, more and more justified in claiming an equality with him who is making it a point of honour, unconsciously it is true, to borrow her dominant virtues.

B—Woman According to Some of the Guiding Minds of Mankind

I. The Greek and Roman Writers. Our whole civilisation has been imbued with prejudices against woman. From the genesis of thought, we find a persistent acrimony in man's judgment of her.

Man shows himself with regard to his companion haughty or contemptuous, suspicious or spiteful.

Whether it be in the Hindoo or the Chinese, the Greek or the Latin civilisation, which through the impetus of their ideas have created and nourished the civilisation of to-day, we everywhere meet the same cry: "Man, distrust woman." The clever Greek dramatists could not even refrain from devoting her to the execration of men and gods. The cry of Æschylus appears to sum up the sexual philosophy of the Greeks:

"O Jupiter!" exclaims the author of the *Seven against Thebes*, "what a gift thou hast bestowed upon us!" Women! What a race!

In the *Andromache* of Euripides, a woman speaks thus of her sex:

"I confess it, remedies have been found for the bites of wild beasts and serpents, but against woman, more cruel than fire or the viper, up to the present day no cure has been found."

Andromache is so convinced of the fatal part her sex plays that she does not fear to call it the "cruel scourge of the human race."

To this definition of scourge Euripides frequently returned. The divine author of *Hippolytus* even reproaches Jupiter for "not having had the human race reproduced without women."

"Couldst thou not decree that men, at the cost of an offering brought to the temples, might purchase the germs! . . . And now they would live at peace in their homes without the brood of women. . . ."

Euripides puts also this poignant question to the omnipotent god: "For what cause was created, beneath the sun, this fatal curse to men—women?"

The philosophers do not yield to the poets; the refrain of the tragic bards of Greece returns in all literatures.

Twenty-two centuries later, Baudelaire also is indignant to see nature using this "vile animal to form a genius."

Plato, who expresses the deliberate opinion of the intellectual flower of his time, always so just and harmonious in his conceptions of the world, cannot resist finding, in her who gave him birth, a being far below the vilest sophist of his era.

With the solemnity habitual to him, he declares that "men who have been cowardly and unjust during their lives will, according to all probabilities, be changed at a second birth into women" (Timæus).

The Roman poets who erected altars to love, neglected to place upon these her who is its principle and soul. Their love degrades and abases woman. They sink her in base voluptuousness, and deny her all elevated feelings. Horace, Tibullus, or Catullus extol in love only its physical pleasures, and consider woman as a source of poisoned joys.

An anthology of the opinions expressed in regard to woman by the founders of religions and the theologians would be equivalent to a collection of insults and vehement libels, openly false or secretly treacherous. At a certain moment woman might have surmounted the injustice of ages and become the equal of man. The Gospel of Jesus ought to have redeemed her while redeeming mankind. The Saviour had words of kindness and divine comprehension for her. But the interpreters of His thought have succeeded in twisting the meaning of His teachings, and have made the being who was so dear to Christ merely a source of concupiscence and degrading passions. The sublime attempt for the elevation of woman having failed, she continued

to drag out her life in the hierarchy of mankind as an inferior creature.

II. Apologists and Detractors. The man of past ages saw in woman only a sort of malevolent goddess. All the civilisations are agreed upon that. While some, fascinated by her charms, forgave her misdeeds, the generality, forgetting her divinity to think only of her crimes, cursed and despised her. A few superior minds, shaking off sovereign prejudices, have been able to see and appreciate in woman a divine consoler and inspirer of man. It is a curious fact that the men who have practised the noblest worship of woman, are numbered among the greatest and most generous souls on earth. Dante and Petrarch were the first who sang the praises of woman, sublime in her soul, comprehensive in her intelligence, the real guide and guardian angel of mankind. Dante's Beatrice synthesises woman as she might and must have been, if mankind had shown itself just and gentle to her.

Dante, degraded and fallen by love affairs of lower spirit, and restored to the life of beauty and happiness by his return to Beatrice, incarnates the symbol of the human race of the past and that of the future. When, seized with horror and disgust in the presence of the fallen life of his contemporaries, he succeeds in releasing himself from the impure embrace of base and vulgar passions, when he comprehends the noble life that only a woman of intelligence and divine goodness can procure for him, he will find himself finally redeemed.

This ideal, dimly seen by Dante, has passed like a flash of lightning through the Middle Ages and modern times. It illumines every conscience capable of com-

prehending it, but it has glided over the social organisation without leaving any trace. For Dante was isolated. We like to imagine him marching at the head of the poets who have a veneration for women. We talk of the chivalry of the troubadours and of the courts of love. But between them and Dante there is the gulf which separates chromos from the paintings of the masters; their adulation was entirely on the surface and purely literary. Love was merely a pretext serving to justify the glory of the poet or the knight. Intoxicated by his own phrases, the troubadour may have ended by convincing himself that "the lady of his dreams was his real lord," but the fatal awakening arrived with age. Woman, the pretext for the songs and the deeds of chivalry, again became the respectful subject of her husband.

The sceptre which the Middle Ages bestowed on woman was merely of pasteboard. Its specific adoration is expressed only in platitudes and grimaces.

Behind these shadows of deification, woman does not cease to lead a purposeless and imperfect life. Beatrice continues to be sublime in the Divine Comedies which take place outside of the world, but here below she is only a Beatrice of misfortune, a Beatrice of degraded man, and especially a Beatrice of evil scenes. Poets lament the sufferings she causes amorous boobies, who lie and betray, but who endure martyrdom at the slightest wounds of their self-esteem; moralists bring proofs of her intellectual and moral inferiority, and justify her state of slavery; men of order and even those of disorder, conservatives and revolutionists, are unanimous in considering her absence from public life necessary and justified. Rare were the poets and writers who, in their

deification of woman, followed the bards of Beatrice and Laura.

It would require volumes to point out everything unjust in the ideas concerning woman which poets, moralists, and novelists have cast as food to the public through the centuries. With more or less consideration, her part is found to be reduced to a source of pleasures or comforts for men. The dispenser of love, the mother, or the head maid-servant, these are the three chief objects of her life.

The greatest minds cannot emancipate themselves from the views which dominate both men and women. Rabelais, Molière, and Racine alike lowered woman to the level of the ideas of their times. The revels of the court, of almost all the mediæval courts, continue the demoralising work of the writers. Those of other countries only imitate France in this respect. Thus the same abasement of woman is everywhere emphasised.

There are undoubtedly exceptions, for exceptions always exist.

Let us salute, first of all, as we pass on, the immortal Shakespeare. His peerless genius was capable of rising far above his period and of breaking with the prejudices of so many centuries. Ruskin has stated, with much justice, that Shakespeare has no heroes, he has only heroines. His great men all have weak points. Vanity corrodes almost equally Cæsar, Antony, or Coriolanus. On the other hand, the Shakespearian women remain peerless in charm, devotion, delicacy of feeling, or grandeur in sacrifice. Desdemona, Isabella, Perdita, Sylvia, Rosalind, Viola, Virgilia, or Queen Catherine, are so many superior types of a better and loftier humanity. All these women shine also by their presence of mind,

their good sense, and their wise and clear-sighted reasoning. The catastrophes which thrill us in Shakespeare are always produced by the irresolution, stupidity, or folly of a man. Even the weakest among these strong women, Ophelia, causes the tragic end and the misfortune of Hamlet because at the decisive moment she fails him.

We may recall also the great Corneille, whose sublime women, such as Chimène, Pauline and Camille, present noble examples for the world.

Yet these ideal women, isolated in their century, as well as in their lives, do not pass beyond the precincts of the theatre.

In Germany, a great poet, Heinrich von Meissen, of the Middle Ages, wrote touching poems in woman's honour. The latter, charmed and grateful, christened their favourite bard by the name of *Frauenlob* (praiser of women). At his death, thousands of women flocked from all parts of the country, and bore his remains to the church in pomp.

Each country and each literature can thus show some writer who emerges from the crowd and places himself above popular prejudices. Exceptions in the life of the nations, they disappear without affecting the mentality of their contemporaries.

The moralists of the Middle Ages, on the other hand, furnish us with the real expression of the feelings of the best women and of the masses with regard to woman. As a Slav writer of the sixteenth century puts it, "Women must be loved like one's soul, but beaten like a man's cloak." The more subtle writers support the same contention, but with more delicacy of expression.

A moralist, and not one of the least, Charron, tells

us the opinion of his period concerning womanhood. If we quote Charron, it is because the independence of his mind, the freedom of his judgments, and the depth of his thoughts place him, in many respects, by the side of Montaigne, whose friend he was, and far above his contemporaries, whom he often scandalised by his ideas.[1]

The author of *la Sagesse* thus sums up the position and the duties of the married woman:

> To pay honour, reverence, and respect to her husband, as to *her master and sovereign lord* . . . obedience in all things just and lawful, adapting herself and bending to the habits and disposition of her husband, like the useful mirror which faithfully reflects the face, having no private purpose, love, or thought; but like the dimensions and accidents which have no movement or action of their own and which *move only with the body*, she must be in all and through all with the husband . . . wash his feet, keep his house. . . . *Apart from her husband*, she *must be* as though invisible, and like the opposite side of the moon, she *must not appear*, must *remain silent* and *speak only with or through her husband*, etc.

We omit the sentimental recommendations of Charron. In their crudity, which it is impossible to reproduce, shines forth still more the idea, so rooted in the men of his times, that woman is merely an instrument of pleasure.

The boldest, most unprejudiced thinkers cannot

[1] Religion, Charron will say, for instance, is maintained solely by human means, is composed entirely of "unhealthy fragments," and again that "while the immortality of the soul is the thing most universally accepted, it is the most feebly proved," etc. (*Sagesse*, edition i, 1601).

liberate their minds from the false ideas that bygone ages have bequeathed to them. Voltaire is as unjust to women as Rousseau, Montesquieu is as cruel and irrational as Diderot.

According to the author of the *Esprit des lois*, the same nature which has given to man strength and reason, has bestowed upon woman only charms, and has willed that with these her ascendancy should end. Diderot considered women as sensual dispensers of pleasure; Rousseau, with more delicacy, but equal injustice, says that woman was made specially for man.

And man? Ought he in his turn to please woman? "That is a less direct necessity," Rousseau will answer.

The leaders of the great Revolution are in this respect in accord with those who inspired it. Danton, Robespierre, Mirabeau, are all of the same mind in denying to woman all possibility of breaking her time-honoured fetters. The Revolution, which owed much to women, was not kind to them. While proclaiming the rights of man, it sanctioned the slavery of woman.

Yet the position created for them by the laws and public opinion was already drawing cries of indignation and rebellion from feminine writers. The best proof of this lies in a whole series of works by women—of which we shall speak further—and also by men.

Lastly, what shall be said of Napoleon I? A persistent adversary of woman, he threw all the weight of his authoritative mind upon the framers of the Civil Code, in order to secure confirmation under the law for the supremacy of man claimed through so many centuries.

The spirit of the Code Napoléon, which is regarded as the highest expression of the jurisprudence of the nineteenth century, has spread into other systems of

legislation, and from this formidable movement in favour of the deliverance of man, which marks the death agony of the old system, woman has secured merely the certainty that her redemption can come solely from herself.

III. Modern Misogynists. A learned and brilliant German writer, Otto Hörth, demonstrates a sort of continuation of the Platonist doctrine of the genesis of the sexes through the ages.

According to Plato, the woman and the man formed only a single being in the world beyond the grave. They have been separated on this earth and afterward each fraction seeks the other. This doctrine is also found again among the mystic Christians, like Jacob Böhme. According to the latter, Adam, created after the divine image, incarnated in himself the man and the woman. It is only in consequence of sin that the two sexes are separated. In the footsteps of Böhme later march Schelling, the romantic writers, also Wagner, with his Tristan.

But if the Platonists proclaimed that woman, however incomplete she may be, nevertheless descended from God, the Fathers of the Church and the theologians, unfortunately, make her begotten by the devil in person. In their teachings, woman is supposed to be full of hellish evil. Instinctively and unconsciously, her detractors do not cease to repeat it to our own day. The most sceptical among them, Schopenhauer, presents her under the form of an apocalyptic monster. He crushes her under mountains of reproaches and crimes, in which psychology and real observation rarely appear.

A philosopher like Nietzsche even goes so far as to tremble at the approaching deliverance of woman.

"Woe betide us [he cried] if ever the eternally wearisome qualities of woman, in which she is so rich, dare to take free scope! What matters truth to her? Nothing is more foreign, more distasteful, more odious. . . . To deny the antagonism between man and woman, and the necessity of an *eternally hostile tension*, possibly to dream of equal rights, equal education . . . here are typical marks of platitude of mind.[1]

According to Nietzsche, woman can be viewed only after the Oriental method, that is, "*as an object to be shut up, something predestined to domesticity.*"

He also says that "the great misfortune of our times is that woman is forgetting her fear of man." In his heart the philosopher to whom we owe as many profound thoughts as foolish sayings and inconceivable contradictions, trembles before woman and especially before her "nature," more natural than man's. This means to Nietzsche that she "has the suppleness and the cunning of the wild beast or the claws of the tigress under her glove and an instinctive, unconquerable savagery."[2] What! almost the devil in person!

Let us consult the most famous misogynists, beginning with writers like Strindberg or Moebius and ending with the ordinary journalists who carry on the trade of despising woman. Everywhere we shall hear the same refrain: woman is not only different from man, but she is also his cruel and implacable enemy. Their

[1] *Par delà le bien et le mal* (*Jenseits von Gut und Böses*) (*Beyond Good and Evil*).

[2] *Par delà le bien et le mal* (*Jenseits von Gut und Böses*).

duality is almost as fundamental as that between Ormuzd and Ahriman, the angels and the devils. She is condemned, or a more offensive thing, she is pitied. Impure and sinful, dangerous and delightful, she strews around her poison and honey. Even those who seem to deify her, present her as "the only divine work unfinished, or as an outcast angel" (Dumas fils).

It would be wearisome to attempt to reproduce all the sweet speeches which man, alarmed or spiteful, lavishes upon his companion. For man is perhaps the only animal that nourishes contempt or an instinctive fear of her who gave him birth. The causes, apparently so diverse, nevertheless have striking resemblances. We find emphasis placed always upon the same faults, the same crimes, the same dangers that the scorners of womanhood do not fail to display to the public.

We will confine ourselves to analysing in detail the misogynic philosophy of Weininger, one of the strongest and at the same time the most distressing. The author, who has understood how to give a scientific basis and a philosophical depth to his deductions, will thus spare us the necessity of troubling ourselves with other doctrines which are only pallid reflections.

For among the many schools which have refused woman the possibility of shining by the intellectual and moral qualities which are the pride of man, Weininger's merits special attention. Its founder was not a physiologist, nor a biologist in the exact sense of this word. Philosopher and moralist, he has put into requisition the most pessimistic data of modern science, and has added to these his own deceptions, his misanthropy, and his disgust with life. Born prematurely old, incarnating in himself the disappointments of the ages and

of vanished generations, Weininger committed suicide before he was twenty-four years of age. His work,[1] written two years earlier, produced a considerable effect upon the intellectual men of the Continent. Half German and half madman, he had the courage to systematise the discoveries suggested by his logical lunacy, nourished by the truths and especially by the errors of all the foes of woman. His exaggerated and far-fetched argument strikes and holds the attention. We take pleasure in following to the end his cold, cruel, and unexpected thought. It is that of a monomaniac whom nothing checks and nothing discourages. His madness casts dazzling flashes of light upon his arguments. The success of his doctrine bears some slight resemblance to that enjoyed by certain minor religions propagated by ardent and unconscious converts. And this mixture of scientific truths, mingled with imprecations and vehement, passionate insults, does not cease to charm even her who is their object.

There are as Weininger teaches no strictly sexualised embryos, and that is why there are no men possessing masculine qualities exclusively, nor women having exclusively those of women. There are men who have much more of the masculine principle than others; as there are women who have more or less of the feminine. There are even hermaphrodites who are bi-sexual.

And love? It may very well be raised into a law. Love is merely the result of an attraction which femininity exerts upon masculinity, and *vice versa*. A perfect love is produced when the man and woman who love each other represent together an integral, or if one prefer the term, an ideal man and woman.

[1] *Geschlect und Charakter* (*Sex and Character*).

Let us allow that a man incarnates in his person eighty per cent. of masculinity. He will seek a woman who has twenty per cent., and the couple will then have together one hundred per cent. of masculinity, an ideal result which will produce an ideal love.

The woman who has only thirty to forty per cent. of femininity will seek a man who has seventy or sixty per cent. of femininity.

The attraction of the sexes is therefore exercised according to a chemical affinity. This mysterious law presides over the union of the sexes and their happiness. Man and woman are always in search of their complement. A happy, divinely happy couple will be the one where the man and the woman, united, will give together one hundred per cent. of masculinity and of femininity. But as this phenomenon very rarely occurs, the man and the woman mutually part, going in search of the principles which they lack.

This explains also the uni-sexual passions. A man who has only twenty to thirty per cent. of masculinity tends toward another to find in him the eighty or seventy he lacks. It is a fatal law of nature that the codes commit the great error of trying to prevent this by punishments more or less severe. On the other hand, the more virile a man is, the more he will seek a truly womanly woman. The more he is feminised, the more he will seek a masculinised woman.

Therefore there are in nature no perfect feminine or masculine types. By the aid of this psycho-physiology consisting in the transition of types, Weininger builds the theory of the absolute superiority of man. He even takes from woman all possibility of attaining or approaching it.

What becomes, for instance, of women of undeniable talent? They are incomplete men, monsters from the feminine standpoint. Their love will draw them toward women or feminised men. It is sufficient to recall Sappho, Catherine the Great, or George Sand, loving by turns Musset or Chopin.

Weininger was probably ignorant of the existence of Pagello for George Sand, or of Potemkin, besides so many other specimens of flourishing masculinity who do not and will not cease to attract talented women. He is no less ignorant of the fragile little women, far more feminine than many secluded in home-life, to whom science and literature owe numbers of works or masterpieces.

Let us continue our citations.

After all, says Weininger, these talented women are worth nothing, or almost nothing, as specimens of the human race. The best of them could show only fifty per cent. of masculinity, that is, far less than the average man. Their mimicries or anomalies of man are and will be valueless, and will never equal really masculine work. Under these conditions, writers, artists, scholars, or thinkers, recruited among women, are condemned in advance to mediocrity. Starting from this standpoint, the young scientist refuses woman everything, even moral and sentimental tendencies.

For the sensuality of the two types is equal. It differs only in expression. If man feels the need of seeking woman, she in her turn feels the need of being sought. Man is active, woman is passive. But if man is often sensual, woman is so always and everywhere. Woman can be and *is only sexual;* man is *often something else.*

And the sisters of charity, the nuns, or those who

lead pure lives outside of marriage? All these women are only hysterical people and their hysteria flows from sensuality. Plunged in her sensualism, woman has a sort of cloud before her conscience and her mind. Do what she will, she cannot free herself from this atmosphere of sorcery, which prevents her from seeing things clearly. She lacks duality, and cannot understand herself outside of her own personality. Her memory will hold only insignificant facts, from which she does not know how to detach her "ego." Her mode of feeling is no different from her mode of thought. From this very fact her life is unconscious, her thoughts colourless and vague.

And woman's mission? She is essentially a *go-between.* Rich or poor, old or young, she thinks only of the love affairs or marriages of other people, if she is not thinking of her own.

As she does not possess a real ego she dreams only of the pairing of individuals of the two sexes.

In the human ladder, there are geniuses who distinguish themselves particularly by their clear thoughts and the possibility of liberating their "ego" from the conditions of life. For this very reason woman is not capable of becoming a genius. Genius is, and will remain, the attribute of man. Moreover, imagination and the gift of creation cannot exist outside of memory and a sharply defined consciousness. All these qualities are lacking in woman. She is illogical, because she lacks conscious memory.[1] She is thoroughly immoral, for she lacks logic, memory, and conscience. From this

[1] The four postulates of logic, *principium identatis, principium contradictionis, principium exclusi tertii,* and *principium rationis sufficientis,* remain inaccessible to any one who lacks the memory of the past. (Weininger, *Idem*).

flow her other vices: falsehood, a petty criminality, often without purpose or reason; as well as her principal defect, the absence of personality. Woman, lacking everything which contributes to the formation of the human soul, is therefore utterly deprived of it. And since will proceeds from the soul and the conscience, woman has neither personality, nor soul, nor will, nor morality. She is not even immoral, for she is simply unmoral.

Women of the present time lack soul, as did those in the days of Aristotle. It is man who impresses and shapes their "ego." Like the wet sand on the seashore, she can receive an imprint.

Having no personality, she will base her own value, as well as that of other women, upon toilettes, fortune, titles, or beauty. Confined to sexual life, she can be only a mother or a courtesan. Both are of equal value. The mother woman will have maternal feelings for her children, her husband, or her lover. Their ethical value is nothing. She loves her scamp of a son because he is her son, as a female animal worships the offspring to which she has given birth. It is a corporeal, sexual bond, unconscious, and therefore contemptible. The mother woman also has little intellect.

The courtesan emancipates herself from sexual tyranny. She dominates her sexuality as she dominates men themselves. More intellectual, she appeals more to the imagination of cultivated men who tend chiefly toward the courtesans, while ordinary men mainly incline toward the mother women. Great courtesans, according to Weininger, resemble great conquerors, such as Cæsar, Napoleon, or Alexander the Great.

Love wavering between these two types of woman is only a comedy unworthy of man. He loves his own

dream, to which woman never answers. It imposes falsehood upon him by asking him to feign to himself the resemblance to his ideal. Besides, man commits an immoral action: He uses woman and transforms her into a "means" to attain his ends. Now, it is always wrong to use a human being as a mere instrument.

What does man find in love? His degradation. All that he may do is vain: he has before him only a soulless being. This sensuality, which is the basis of all love, is both degrading and humiliating. How are we to escape from this dilemma? Between the degradation through union with woman, and the elevation of man who tramples on the interests of the human race, Weininger has made his choice. *Pereat mundus, fiant pillulæ!* (*Long live pills and let the world perish!*) might be said, paraphrasing the doctrine whose final purpose would be the extermination of man and the triumph of the humane idea sublime and eternal, for it has life in itself as Kant understood it. Besides, must mankind continue to live eternally? Weininger will ask. The philosopher "sees no occasion for it," and this must suffice for us.

But we who wish to live cannot accept the benefits of this collective suicide. We see neither the obligation nor the grandeur. Let us do Weininger the justice to remember that, by committing suicide, he reconciled his conduct to his theories.

He only drew the inevitable conclusions from the "superstition of man" that weighs upon our mode of thought and action. It is so rooted in our minds that women themselves are numbered among the most ardent admirers of the thinkers or moralists who appear most unjust to them.

IV. Conclusion. A popular saying, false like most sayings, asserts that woman likes to be beaten. We might be inclined so to believe, while noting with what sympathy and incomprehensible curiosity she welcomes the pamphlets, however foolish they may be, in which her virtues are vilified and her intellectual and moral worth destroyed. Works of violent or systematic disparagement attract her with mysterious power. And yet they have not even the merit of novelty. Authors who pursue the trade of scorning and slandering women usually merely summarise, while aggravating, prejudices as old as humanity itself.

In their most simple expression, the doctrines of the misogynists of every age are reduced to this: woman has been and must remain the inferior of man. The rest is merely a simple question of temperament. Some refuse her only the rights of man: others will contest with her even her soul and her personality.

We have studied the Weininger views at greater length, in order to be spared from speaking of those of Strindberg, Schopenhauer, and so many other detractors of woman, more or less famous, or more or less profound.

The "*Leit-motiv*" is always the same, only the stage setting varies.

Imbued with age-long prejudices, the largest masculine brains often seem closed to the truths concerning women which are beginning to come forth to the light.

Vainly, in the persons of some of the most gifted of her sex, has she displayed all the brilliancy of her talents and her intelligence; men do not allow themselves to be affected. The Jeanne d'Arcs or Jeanne Hachettes, great queens or empresses, superiors of

convents, holy or talented women, energetic or heroic, directors of consciences or of the largest human affairs; scholars or writers, ardent in their march toward the liberation of their convictions or sublime in their devotion to the ideas of ancient times, all rarely find favour with man. In his determination not to regard woman as his equal, he will produce all sorts of arguments to preserve intact his time-honoured faith.

The scientists themselves, while joining ordinary minds, will have recourse, as we shall see later, to scientific arguments to justify the supremacy of man. This has given rise to a comparative anatomy and physiology of the two sexes naturally unfavourable to woman.

For all those whom false scientific arguments have been unable to reach, there remains the life of past ages. Woman, they say, has never succeeded in distinguishing herself in any scientific or artistic domain, and her failure best demonstrates her inferiority. Of what use is it to desire to admit her upon the footing of equality, if her organic incapacity condemns her to remain always inferior to man.

This reasoning appears to be almost as immovable to-day as it was a dozen centuries ago. And yet, can we logically assert that the negroes will never give birth to men of genius, because they have not furnished any up to the present time?

Before England produced Shakespeare, there were gloomy minds who deemed her incapable of endowing humanity with dramatic genius.

Now, it is enough to examine the legal, moral, and social situation that woman has occupied through the ages, to understand how impossible it has been for her to give evidence of her real value.

CHAPTER III

CREATIVE GENIUS AND INTELLIGENCE HAVE NO SEX

WOMAN being reduced by the historic evolution of her sex to be only a slave or a goddess, man has had difficulty in giving her virile dignity. He has not ceased to celebrate the qualities which pleased him in her, while obstinately refusing her the virtues considered as belonging exclusively to his own sex. When the events which shape circumstances and human beings called forth women having, from the moral and intellectual standpoint, the same value as men, we have disposed of them by declaring them abnormal or exceptional.

Thus there were woman philosophers, woman scientists, woman inventors, as there are sometimes monsters born with two heads, or bearded women. But the reason of men adapted itself with difficulty to these exceptional women. Theologians, forgetting what Christianity owed to woman, do not cease to declare her inferior, while the most courageous men in the domain of thought bow to this prejudice, without daring to attack its inanity.

When the views of men upon the worth of women are examined, we cannot help discovering their pitiful and distressing monotony. Scientists, poets, moralists,

philosophers, or statesmen hold on this point similar opinions to the clerks in undertakers' establishments or street-sweepers. All in unison declare that woman is incapable of distinguishing herself in the province of science and inventions. Women who are themselves eminent are so under the domination of surrounding prejudices that, at the risk of appearing monsters, they are ready, in their turn, to declare their sex unqualified for the intellectual labours which have constituted the eternal pride of man. Women exempt from prejudices in other provinces have kept intact the one relating to woman's inferiority. Daniel Stern does not hesitate to assert that "nothing is defined, nothing is positive amid the gilded mists of feminine fancy." Woman has no concern about the truth of things. According to Mme. Girardin, she is only a privileged animal who possesses all the marvellous gifts of lucid sluggards. Her domain is divination and instinct, but "when it becomes necessary to act with reflection or knowledge, men will possess a formidable superiority over her."

With touching uniformity woman's detractors term her "an incomplete man." They all appear to be a little of Bossuet's opinion that women have only to remember their origin and consider that, after all, they come "from a supernumerary bone," to resign the pretensions which produce their genius or their reason. Molière covers them with his ingenious sarcasms, and tells us it is enough for them "to love, to pray to God, and to spin." Montaigne, the divine Montaigne, who dispelled so many of the prejudices of his times, "begins to fear when he sees women interested in the law, logic, rhetoric, and other similar drugs, so futile, and so useless to their needs."

Voltaire, who was himself initiated by Mme. du Châtelet into the comprehension of Newton, says that women are incapable of invention. Alphonse de Candolle denies them even the doubt by which all research into the sciences of observation must begin, and often end. Men of advanced or antiquated ideas are all, on this point, of the same opinion. According to Proudhon "women could not even invent their distaff." "Her poor little soul," he tells us elsewhere, "can neither rival man's nor follow it," and if she is placed on an equality with us, it will be necessary "to return to us our strength and useless intelligence," while, according to Lamennais, woman, even the most ideal, "rarely attains the height of a man of mediocre capacity."

French, Germans, English, Russians, and Scandinavians meet in the same humiliating opinion concerning woman's efforts.

Kant himself maintains against evidence that women "will never learn geometry." Finally what is to be said of the pessimists like Schopenhauer and Strindberg, who deny her everything, even to the faculty of imitating man intelligently?

I. In the Forgotten Past. Influenced by these time-honoured opinions, man remains instinctively faithful to them. Woman has vainly raised herself to unsuspected heights; in vain, having emerged from seclusion, she has entered the factory, taken possession of the liberal careers, become physician, lawyer, or engineer, philosopher, or scientist, man has paid no heed. Subjugated by the prejudices of his childhood, he believes her still out of her element in provinces where, though

a newcomer, she nevertheless feels entirely at home. Her new activities he believes to be transitory.

Forgetting the implacable progress of events which renders any backward movement impossible, he believes that woman will return whence she came. He loses sight of the fact that historic fatality does not adapt itself to this sort of caprice, and that the laws of evolution remain more imperious than the will of the ancient gods. Compelled to march in the road which is now reserved for her, woman has the primordial interest of showing man that she will know how to hold her place there. It is equally in the interest of man to understand that fate has only given him a new travelling companion instead of a domestic animal inferior in dignity and worth. Sane and rational progress can be realised only in consequence of a just valuation of the forces in competition.

By virtue of the old juridical principle, "he who can do the greater, can do the less," woman, having been able to reach the highest summits of science, having accomplished inventions equal to man's, has given evidence of the same capacity as his own for the management of political or administrative affairs, which, after all, are less complex. Instead of growing bewildered in metaphysical discussions upon the destinies of the two sexes, it is indispensable to dispel the prejudices which make the cleverest woman descend to the level of an ordinary man. In short, the equal intellectual potentialities of the two sexes must be made clear. This conviction once acquired, man will no longer be able to treat with contemptuous pity the demands and the rights of woman. Man, woman's supreme judge through the ages, has never expressed any special enthu-

siasm for the gifts she possesses. Sometimes he neglects to point out what civilisation owes her, sometimes he modestly appropriates the inventions and discoveries which she has made. Yet, notwithstanding the obscurity which surrounds the birth of commerce and manufactures, we note in them the mysterious action of woman. Thus the recent historians of the origins of the arts and sciences attribute to her numerous inventions that have radically changed the aspect of civilisation.

Aerial telegraphs, it seems, are said to have been invented by Adossa, the wife of Ninus. The art of spinning was taught in China by the wife of the Emperor Yao (24th century B. C.) and to the Jews by Noema (toward 1997 B.C.). Semiramis invented the chariot armed with scythes, and the Amazon Penthesilea the javelin. Callirrhöe, a young girl of Sicyon, was the first person to make a sketch in pencil, representing her betrothed husband. And this originated the art of drawing.

According to the scholars of the times of Apuleius, woman created the plough. And many anthropologists, basing their views upon beliefs accredited in most countries, profess the opinion that the men, going forth to the chase and war, left their women to accomplish, during their absence, inventions intended to improve their life. After returning home, the fishermen, hunters, or warriors amused themselves by perfecting what had been done without them but for their benefit.

II. Woman Transformed Man's Life. The masculine conception of history has had its day. All the sciences of the past bring manifold proofs of woman's

share in human progress. Prehistoric sociology refutes especially the opinion that hunting, fishing, and the domestication of the animals preceded the introduction of agriculture.

The works of Lasch, Codrington, Waitz, G. Richard, Ratzel, and so many others[1] tend to prove that the garden was the first field of productive labour of the human race. Now, the "garden" asserts G. Richard, the learned professor of sociology in the University of Bordeaux, is "a creation of the activity of women." Hunting did not precede agriculture, as classic history teaches. When the life of the primitive peoples is observed more closely, it is perceived that almost all were horticulturists, like the Akkas of the forests of Central Africa, the Turcomans of the steppes of Mourghab, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Bantus, the natives of Pre-Columbian America, the Appalaches and Iroquois of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to the partisans of this doctrine, man cleared the soil. He felled and uprooted the trees, and the women sowed the earth and reaped its products. Much later, man, in his turn, laboured with woman before distancing her in this domain. The Thesmophoria of the Greeks show, according to Byron Jevons, an evident proof that the cultivation of the soil belonged to the women. The Greek village itself, from which proceeded the entire classic civilisation, was consequently the work of woman. The same author insists

[1] Waitz and Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvoelker;* R. Lasch, *Die Landwirthschaft des Naturvolkes*, etc. (works published chiefly in the *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*); G. Richard, *La femme dans l'histoire;* Codrington, *The Melanesians;* Byron Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion;* Ratzel, *Voelkerkunde*, etc.

upon this significant fact, that, among the majority of the primitive or civilised peoples where certain mysteries were celebrated in honour of the divinities protecting agriculture, this sacerdotal office fell exclusively upon the women.

Eloquent proofs are also found among the ancient Germans, and even in our own times among certain of their descendants. Tacitus asserts that in Germany, agriculture was entrusted to the women and children, assisted by the captives and slaves. Among the Frieslanders of our day, the woman still tills the ground, while the man is a sailor or a fisherman. Among certain Bretons of the coast, as on the Isle of Ushant, according to C. Vallaux,[1] "woman is masculinised to the point of performing the roughest work in the fields alone; she turns up the soil; she piles the loads of seaweed and during this time the man, if bad weather prevents him from going to sea, busies himself in knitting stockings."

Woman, who initiated man into agriculture, endowed him also with the differentiation and the practice of the trades. While he devoted himself to the rudest tasks, like hunting, which in the stone age or the age of polished stone tools must have been as dangerous as it was toilsome, woman invented for the mutual benefit of both ingenious methods of utilising the products of their labour. She made garments of the skins furnished by man and built houses with the trees felled by her companion. She spun the wool, wove and washed the linen, prepared the meats, made the bread, manufactured pottery and drinks. Traces of this industrial activity of woman are found among the Asiatic or

[1] *La Basse Bretagne.*

African peoples; among the aborigines of Central America, among the Finns or the Chinese. The Kabyle woman makes embroideries, leather articles, manufactures pottery, rope, powder. She spins and weaves, cooks, and makes clothing. The Chinese woman raises silkworms, picks cotton, and devotes herself to a number of other domestic tasks and industrial trades.

As the modest craft of blacksmith of the prehistoric times preceded the industry of metallurgy of our day, the simple market-places of the primitive villages gave birth, hundreds of centuries later, to the international exchange of the products of commerce, industry, and human thought.

Woman may point out her enterprise in having devised the village market. In Africa, asserts Richard Lasch, woman, who was the probable creator of markets, reigns supreme in them. The woman merchant is met in Guinea and in the Soudan, in the Congo, or in the mountains of Kilimanjaro. It is the same in other regions, as in New Guinea or the Philippines, among the Battas of Sumatra, in the Fiji islands, or in the Bismarck archipelago.

In the Soudan, on the banks of the Niger, there are places, it seems, where men have not the right to show themselves in the markets and take part in them.

These primitive markets gradually enlarged. The number of articles for exchange increased. By the side of the exclusive products of feminine work, also appeared those of masculine industry. Man invaded and took possession of the market. He no longer needed woman and forbade her, in her turn, access to the market, as in ancient Greece or in many Oriental countries.

If it is true that we owe to woman the first rudiments of agriculture and horticulture, the domestic handicrafts and commerce, it is to her also that the supreme merit of having snatched man from barbarism should be given. She traced for him the glorious paths of progress. It was by following the modes of work inaugurated by her, it was by using the inventions and di coveries of her genius, that man finally succeeded in conquering the resistance and the hostile forces of nature. Nothing is more difficult than the beginning of an invention or of a political, economical, and social organisation. Before the undeniable originality of the first efforts of a promoter, the acts of imitation or application of those who succeed him are singularly eclipsed. Woman, unjustly excluded from the work of progress, can nevertheless lay claim to a lion's share of its honours and efforts.

This synthesis of prehistoric civilisation undoubtedly presents a few missing links. But it also contains some portions of truth. While impossible to prove for all mankind, it remains undeniable for several of its most important sections. This fact suffices to deprive of value the systematic disparagements of woman, which refuse her any genius or initiative in the past and deny her the possibility of having them in the future.

III. Women in the Sciences. Woman, like man, imitates, but she also, like man, invents. Wherever she has passed, she has left luminous traces. Science and philosophy, believed to be inaccessible to her brain, which was supposed to be a reduction of man's, owe to her many guiding ideas and many lasting works. One observation forces itself upon us when the creative

mind of woman is mentioned. It is beyond question that genius is spontaneous and shows itself under unexpected circumstances. Yet there are insurmountable obstacles to the production of certain creative forces.

It would have been difficult for a Newton to be born among the Iroquois, or a Shakespeare among the Zulus.

It is an error not to believe that even great talents, if not geniuses themselves, need favourable conditions for their development. Poetry, we are told, is the art which in all ages has been accessible to woman. Yet it is enough to study the history of the woman-poets through the ages to perceive that, even in this domain, the birth of talents depends, in the first place, upon conditions that favour, diminish, or destroy them. Of this classic Greece furnishes an eloquent illustration.

Women writers—and among them there were geniuses, like Sappho—shine in the poetic Greek firmament, so long as the Attic civilisation did not subject all others to its domination. As the latter denied to woman all liberty and independence, the woman writers disappeared completely from Greek life. Some are again seen outside of Attica, at Thebes, where the bewitching lyre of Corinne contends successfully even with that of Pindar. Such too were Myrtis, the poetess of Anthedon; Praxilla, whom we owe to Sicyon, and Telesilla, born at Argos.

It is the same in our own days. Literary women, and among them poets of the first rank, appear simultaneously in France, Germany, Italy, and England, because the opinions concerning woman, radically modified, permit her to bound forward to the conquest of everything glorious.

While studying inventive genius among women, sur-

prise must be awakened, not by its poverty, but rather by its development in spite of the unfavourable conditions in which it had to act. Woman's creative spirit ought, logically, to have been destroyed by the nature of her occupations. Concentration of thought is necessary for every creation. But, with the multiplicity of woman's domestic avocations, this becomes difficult. Domestic accounts, the attentions required by husband and children, sewing or the preparation of food, in short the direction of the house and housekeeping down to its minute details, praiseworthy as they may be, only turn the mind aside. In this friction of the intelligence against daily life, creative thoughts are easily consumed or are scattered.

The character of her occupations has also given to woman's thought a superficial, careless impress, striking rather by its variety than by its depth.

On the other hand this same labour is far from being as easy and light as is usually supposed. This marking time, without moving forward, is as fatiguing to the body as to the mind. Feminine mentality derives its imperfections not only from its insufficient cultivation, but from the specific occupations assigned to woman.

The power of heredity aiding, woman is everywhere found in conditions of evident inferiority in everything relating to the exercise of her creative faculties. Yet her contribution to the treasure of discoveries and inventions is very much larger than is usually believed.

Women have forgotten to note it, and men have not deigned to testify that the proportion of eminent women, compared to the general number of women devoted to science, argues more in behalf of woman than of man.

When woman, in her turn, shall have impartial historians of her scientific evolution, the latter will prove that the Hypatias were more numerous than is commonly credited.

Who, for instance, would dare to maintain that the positivism of Auguste Comte, which has placed an ineradicable imprint upon modern mentality, had, for a precursor, a woman? Now, Comte himself, in his *Cours de Philosophie positive*, claims this merit for Sophie Germain. This famous mathematician, lost among men, has never been appreciated at her true value.

Regarded at the present day as one of the creators of the *Physique Mathématique*, she was forgotten even by those who profited by her discoveries. Her remarkable works upon *la Théorie de la Vibration des Plaques élastiques* (Theory of the Vibration of Elastic Plates) have had an important influence upon all the practical processes whose basis is the elasticity of metals.[1] A philosopher, she still awaits the man of vast intelligence who will know how to do justice to her singular conception of the *Absolute*, which "affords us the model of goodness, the consciousness of truth, and the spirit of beauty," gives the only source of morality, of "Science and Æsthetics."

When the builders of the Eiffel Tower decided to have inscribed upon it the names of the seventy-two sages, inspirers of their labours, they omitted that of the great feminine mathematician.

Let us take, for instance, one of the sciences, astronomy, in which the talent of precision and the ingenuity of our intelligence have the most propitious field to exert themselves and to triumph.

[1] Todhunter. History of the Theory of Elasticity.

Beginning with the Egyptian Princess Aganice who, according to Plutarch, foretold the future from the celestial bodies, women in every age, in spite of the obstacles encountered in this path, have studied astrology. They thus preceded the discoveries in astronomy.

Aglaonice announced in Thessaly solar and lunar eclipses. Asclapigenia worked in a similar way in Athens, and Hypatia surpassed in knowledge all the scientists of her times. She invented the planisphere and the astrolabe, and composed the first work on algebra.

As astronomy proceeded toward its brilliant destiny, women did not fail to enrich it by their studies and their discoveries. We may mention, in this line of thought, the famous Maria Kunicia who, in 1650, edited the very important astronomical tables known under the name of *Urania Propitia;* Marguerite Kirch, who discovered a comet in 1702 and published, besides almanacs, a great many astronomical calculations; Mme. Runker, who described a comet in 1847; and many others.

We have similar examples in France, where Jeanne Dumée in her *Entretiens sur l'opinion de Copernic touchant la mobilité de la terre,* had the brains, toward the end of the eighteenth century, to defend the ideas of the famous astronomer at the moment when he was the object of violent and passionate attacks from several scientists.[1]

It is a curious fact that Jeanne Dumée thought it necessary to allude to the reproach that astronomy is too delicate work for persons of her sex. But she con-

[1] Discourse on the Opinions of Copernicus respecting the Mobility of the Earth.

soles herself by thinking that she is going to inform the ladies of her day that they are not "incapable of study," for there is no difference between a woman's brain and a man's."

Let us note in the same order of ideas Mme. du Chatelet, born de Breteuil, the famous translator of the *Principles* (of Natural Philosophy) of Newton, whose first work she reconstituted by enriching it with a commentary. Voltaire said of her: "A woman who has translated and illuminated Newton is, in short, a very great man." According to Ampère she also had "genius in geometry."

Mme. Lepaute, with Clairaut, determined the orbit of the Halley comet. She also predicted and calculated the annular eclipse of the sun for 1764, a thing which, before her, had never been done in France. In collaboration with Lalande and her husband, a famous clockmaker, she wrote a work on horology. Her numerous discoveries and her services rendered to the mathematical sciences are enumerated in the posthumous notice by Jérôme Lalande, who, astonished by the labours of this woman of genius, insists upon the benefit it would be to science to admit "the sex to which we owe Miss Herschel, Mme. Lepaute and so many others."

Jeanne-Amélie Latonde, toward the year 1775, defined the position of 10,000 stars contained in her husband's catalogue. Mme. Dupierry first taught astronomy in Paris, and left numerous calculations of eclipses to fix the movements of the moon. Mme. Yvan Villarceau attracted attention for her calculation of the orbits of double stars. Finally we may mention Mme. Clémence Royer, the learned translator of Dar-

win, and the author of the singular work *De l'origine des mondes*, on the origin of worlds, directed against the hypothesis of Laplace.

Let us not forget Caroline Herschel (1750–1848) who, independently of the great labours accomplished with her brother William, herself discovered eight comets, and published a catalogue of double stars and nebulæ which obtained for her a gold medal from the London Astronomical Society. At the age of seventy-two, she undertook an immense work upon the 2500 nebulæ.

We may recall also Mrs. Somerville, to whom we owe the classic work upon the *Mechanism of the Heavens* (1831). Herschel asserts that he read with admiration "this book written for posterity." She published, besides, *L'Étude chimique et magnétique*, a study of the chemical and magnetic properties of the sun, and attracted attention, by the same right, in astronomical science as in that of pure mathematics, in which, according to Humboldt, she was thoroughly superior.

One of the most important branches of modern astronomy, *astro-physics*, which occupies itself with the structure of the stars, is the work of the husband and wife, Sir William and Lady Huggins, and the imposing fruit of their united labour during half a century.

Italian women have to show us by the side of Teresa and Madeleine-Maria Agnesi, whose *Institutions analytiques*, published in 1748, formed an era, the famous Catherine Scarpellini who, in 1854, discovered a comet and made a catalogue of shooting stars observed in Italy. She also wrote a work of considerable size relating to the probable influence of the moon upon earthquakes.

Russia may be proud of the works of Sophie Kovalevsky, who, besides her study of *Les anneaux de Saturne*,

regarding the rings of Saturn, (see *La mécanique céleste* by Tisserand), has published most noted works in the department of the mathematical sciences. According to Kronecker, the history of mathematics will speak of her as one of the most remarkable investigators. M. Darboux did not even hesitate to place her name by the side of Euler and Lagrange in the history of the discoveries connected with the theory of the movement of a solid body around a fixed point.

We have mentioned in our peregrinations through the past of astronomy only certain stars of the first magnitude. But what of the names omitted on account of the ignorance of which the author of these lines accuses himself! What, lastly, is to be said of the oblivion in which are sunk hundreds of learned women, modest and obscure collaborators of their famous husbands!

Yet this list is sufficient to prove that woman, who has succeeded in exerting a beneficent and never to be forgotten action upon the evolution of a science which, according to A. Comte, is the most exact of all sciences, is of much greater value than her celebrity. She gives evidence of rare perseverance, genius for invention and discovery, a synthesis embracing the worlds, and an ability for calculation which renders her equal to the most renowned mathematicians of every age and country.

In these latter years, we have seen several women whose activity strengthens the hopes to which the new woman gives birth.

What, for instance, is to be said of Mme. Curie, whose discoveries are spread before our eyes? While Curie lived, she was reduced to the part of the modest collabo-

rator, having perhaps no other merit in her husband's discoveries than her devotion and wifely comprehension. But Curie dies, and Mme. Curie continues to give proof of an unerring method and a surprising inventive ability. According to the testimony of Professor Hickson (University of Manchester) and the famous W. Ramsay, women admitted to the mathematical studies show themselves, in every respect, the equals of man.

IV. Recent Inventions of Woman. When we pass into the province of inventions, properly so-called, we find still more striking proofs of woman's creative faculty. It is sufficient, in this respect, to consult the annual reports of the patent offices in the different countries, and we are amazed by the number of women who are seeking and finding new, ingenious, and original solutions. This activity is of recent date. For a long period technical schools were closed to women, and their inventive spirit was also discouraged by refusing them the right to obtain patents.

Thus the first patent obtained by an American woman dates only from the year 1809. It was granted to Mrs. Mary Kies for a machine to weave straw with a woof of silk or thread. Feminine patents were very rare up to 1860, but, from that date, the inventive ability of women takes a considerable flight. When the Patent Office, toward the end of the nineteenth century, collected in a special section of the Atlanta Exhibition the models patented by women, people were astonished and charmed by their variety and richness.

The American women have proved themselves to be as practical and as ingenious as the men. Improve-

ments of machines chiefly attract their attention. They invent new wheels for locomotives (Mrs. Montgomery); modifications in the desulphuration of minerals (Mrs. E. Meadows); railroads with elevators (Mary E. Walton); electrical machinery and machines for transmission.

Feminine patents in France follow a similar course. Almost none before 1870, they began to be more and more frequent with woman's admission to the schools and the liberal careers. In going through the archives of the Ministry of Commerce, we perceive that the average number of feminine patents reaches annually from sixty to seventy.

A sort of regret comes over us in the presence of these numerous and persevering efforts, often expended vainly and without great profit to any one. Yet how much ingenuity we find in certain inventions of women! And if the admirable qualities of which many among them give evidence had been directed into a more rational path, French industry would doubtless have gained allies of great value. Even in her inventions, woman shows the effect of the diminution of her life. She attacks the small sides of things, and often employs treasures of patience and ingenuity to produce articles or improvements of slight importance. Some of these productions, however, are thoroughly significant. Mlle. Dore, for instance, discovers "a stage setting intended for the parody of the serpentine dance executed by an animal, a dog, monkey, bear." Mme. Fritsche patents a galvanic chain for sanitary purposes; Mlle. Auerbach has displayed a comb which brings a liquid directly upon hairy leather. Mlle. Aernout plans a cycling-school for a room; Mlle. Dosne, "a pocket typewriting

machine"; while Mme. Guerin invents "an ideal seat closing at the side for sporting undergarments for ladies."

The patents mentioned above were obtained chiefly in the years 1894–1899. A vague fragrance of dreaminess emanates from certain inventions of these ladies. But time moves swiftly. It is enough to consult the feminine patents between 1906 and 1909, to find how much the broadened intelligence of women is expressed in creations of wider and wider compass. Mme. E. Bellanger offers an apparatus for drying sterilised objects by the evacuation of steam and of preserving them in this condition. Mme. Rozet-Lerougé offers us an automatic machine for washing public roads. Mme. Daniel Ferdinand perfects the method of producing effects of light upon stage scenery. Mme. B. Pecourt invents a process for extracting cobalt from the minerals which contain it.

All musical genius is usually denied to woman. It should not be forgotten that she has devoted herself seriously to this art only within a short time. Until these later years, the study of harmony and counterpoint was completely unknown to her. Hostile prejudices paralysed her musical progress. She was not admitted to the schools and the European Conservatories.

It is only necessary, however, to glance over Otto Ebbel's biographical dictionary of women musical composers to prove that, in spite of obstacles, women have succeeded in producing compositions of great breadth; we may refer for instance, to Augusta Holmes, Mme. Chaminade, Mrs. Beach, and many others.

V. Women of Genius and Talent are not Necessarily Depraved. The history of famous women ought to be revised. Made by man, it is often partial and unjust. Above all, it expresses his instinctive distrust of the woman who had the audacity to break the conventional mould in which he had confined her. Then he denied her greatness. Even when obliged to resign himself to it, he made it something monstrous and inhuman.

One example among a thousand! Let us choose the life and glory of Sappho, one of the greatest lyric poetesses of all literatures and all ages. The hundred and seventy fragments left us of her work comprising nine books, display the variety and richness of her inspiration, admirable alike for its grace and its passion, at once strong and clever. Sappho, as Strabo said, was a marvel. Her work is the most noble of those who sung of beauty and love. Certain of her verses, translated and imitated through the ages and revived by Racine (Phèdre) attain the climax of the sufferings love bears within itself! "My tongue dries, a subtle fire courses under my skin, my sight is troubled, and my ears buzz; I am streaming with perspiration; a tremor shakes my whole body; my colour is like that of the grass, and I feel almost as if I were dying . . . "

Her *Epithalamia* constitute the most beautiful model of popular Greek art, with their pleasant artlessness, so full of unexpected and fresh charm. Her lyre is richer than that of Alcæus. She even surpasses the third Lesbian poet, Anacreon himself. While the former succeeded in singing only the "wine sweeter than honey" and at times the beauty of the ephebi, Anacreon chiefly practised measuring his power against that of Eros, whose charms, however, he celebrates in behalf of his

powerful friend, Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. How far superior and more divine appears the inspiration of the famous daughter of Scamandronymos.

She has been made to share her glory with obscure and unworthy rivals. Still more, to explain and diminish her talents, she has been represented as a monster of sexual perversion. Her genius, as well as her fame, seem tarnished by numberless blemishes which darkened her flights toward heaven. The slander which seized upon her was supported by improbable and untruthful legends. Now, in reality, this priestess of Lesbian love, like several of her contemporaries, Andromeda or Gorgo, was only a principal of a school of music and poetry. Her pupils sang her verses, and she sang the beauty of her pupils. As Maximus of Tyre has rightly said, there is no more occasion for surprise in finding Sappho in constant association with this youthful band, than to find Socrates surrounded by young men like Alcibiades, Charmides, and Xenophon.

Greek malice found pleasure in giving her as a lover Anacreon, who was at least sixty years younger than Sappho, and even also Archilochus and Hipponax, who lived a hundred and fifty years distant from her times.

An exchange of odes between Alcæus and Sappho would tend rather to show how much the latter was esteemed by her contemporaries.

Of Alcæus, time has preserved only these two pretty lines:

Pure Sappho of the violet locks and gentle smile,
Something I fain would say, but shame restrains the while!

The poetess, with the tact and delicacy of feeling

worthy of a gifted soul, replies: "If thou hadst the desire for beauty and goodness, if thy tongue meditated no evil word, shame would not cover thine eyes, and thou wouldst say frankly what thou art thinking. . . ."

Without going as far as the scientist, Th. Reinach, who, in his communication to the Academy of Inscriptions, vouches for the virtue of the famous Lesbian, we can admit that a poet has the right to give her heroes and heroines feelings which are not always her own. The honours rendered to her at Mitylene seem to prove that she was highly respected and admired. Let us fall in line with the kindly opinion of the famous Hellenist, Alfred Croiset, that Sappho, with regard to morals, was among the most respected of her compatriots, and that after all, so far as morality was concerned, she had the ideas of a virtuous woman of the nineteenth century.

While Sappho is accused of being in love with all the young girls whom her lyre evokes, we forget, in behalf of Alcæus or Anacreon, all the ephebi, whom they did not cease to sing and to love, including Lycon, "of the dark eyes," or Smerdies "of the luxuriant locks."

The virtue of the great poetess is of little interest to us. What does matter is that there are two weights and two measures. The instance of Sappho, covered with opprobium for centuries, is not isolated in history. As soon as a woman of genius appears on the horizon, we strive too much to make her ability forgotten or lessened by opposing to it her private life, abnormal or irregular. Famous women have become almost synonymous with invalidism or derangement. The same method, applied to man, would equally reveal inherent defects in the brains that mount heavenward. Human

poverty is such that we frequently pay dearly for departing from the average type. Frequently does not mean always, for we should do wrong to exaggerate. There are exceptional women and men in whom the moral and intellectual life is admirably balanced. Genius and talent can perform their work well outside of morbid conditions, in woman as well as in man.

It would, therefore, be anti-scientific to seek to doubt that woman might bring into public life new elements destined to strengthen the efforts of man. The latter will be due not only to the innate qualities of her sex, but also to the new conditions of her existence.

The usual political stereotyped phrases will change their tenor and aspect. Public life, renewed and purified, will no longer be the exclusive province of professional politicians, who hurrah for liberty and do not cease to endanger it. This phenomenon, alas! manifests itself in all constitutional countries.

The conclusion that thrusts itself upon us is as simple as it is important for the issue of the dispute about the creative value of the two sexes. Woman is potentially the equal of man. She has no occasion to imitate him, for she, too, has the gift of originality, the gift of invention and discovery. Having again entered public life, she will not always follow man. She will be skilful enough to find ways to outstrip him. She will even go so far as to discover new paths to salvation.

Man will thus follow woman, as woman will be able to follow man, in their way toward the perfection of affairs and the happiness of human beings.

CHAPTER IV

WOMAN AND SCIENCE

THERE are scientific as well as religious superstitions. Both exercise the same influence—to restrict and paralyse our reasoning powers. When directed by faith, the arguments of laymen become as narrow and sectarian as if these were sustained by miracle and dogma. Opposition is admitted with the more difficulty, because this antagonism always appears to be inspired by forces hostile to the science itself. Plain common sense is often distrusted, just as a pious bigot believes in the devil and his works. Those who espouse a scientific superstition are still more formidable than those by whom it was created. The dogma of the inferiority of woman is so deeply rooted in the mentality of our times that the idea of attempting to dislodge it almost borders upon insanity.

This is the reason that the majority of scientists appear among the most ardent advocates of the theory of the inferiority of woman. Whether they are serious or frivolous, whether they take their stand upon phraseology centuries old, or upon the recent conquests of their special science, whether they are animated by a dull hostility or by an excessive admiration for woman, they treat her almost invariably as an incomplete man.

This proceeds from the biology, as well as from the physiology of woman, from the sociology as well as from the collective psychology of the peoples. The latter science is prematurely striving to generalise where the point in question is simply to prove. Fugitive facts, converted into axioms, thus impair our judgment. Mere observations, often incorrect, are transformed into dogmas and invade our field of vision. Thanks to an imposing terminology, borrowed from the natural sciences, all these facts, united and classified, re-varnished and regilded, transmuted into dogmas and laws, encumber the path and prevent the appearance of the truth.

We know what cruel misapprehensions the errors of the collective psychology of the nations have occasioned to mankind. Before 1870, we were taught that the Germans are idealists, absorbed in abstractions, and that they think of nothing but sentimental things, the sweetness of love, the charms of friendship. Suddenly the veil fell from our eyes and we beheld a warlike, energetic nation, thoroughly imbued with the reality of actual affairs and of human beings. An Englishman has been represented to us as false and egotistical, a Frenchman always as dissipated and altruistic. The negroes are thought of as children, incapable of saving and providing for the future. How many corpses now lie in the vast realm of collective psychology!

We have perceived finally that the vices and the virtues of the nations are often merely the results of the conditions of their mode of life. Change their political situation, their commerce, their manufactures, and insensibly the qualities deemed intrinsic in a people will in their turn be imperceptibly modified.

Considerations of two different kinds thus contribute to create and to diffuse the prejudice of sex. In the first place, we have the physiological data drawn from the organic peculiarities of woman. Next, there are the psychological observations, based both upon science and upon the external manifestations of feminine life.

Let us begin with the least disputed biological and anatomical data.

A—Woman from the Biological Standpoint.

I. The Mystery of the Sexes.

I. Their Origins. The production and justification of the most astounding doctrines on the subject of the psycho-physiology of woman are facilitated chiefly by the dense darkness surrounding the biological origins of sexual differentiation. What determines the birth of one sex instead of another? There are now about six hundred theories claiming the monopoly of the truth which, dragged among so many different camps, has left tatters almost everywhere. A number of schools hold patches of it, but the real cause constantly escapes our grasp.

If we know little concerning the subject of the origin of the sexes, we are still less acquainted with their essential nature. In the eighteenth century, Drélincourt pointed out the existence of two hundred and sixty-two unfounded hypotheses. Since then, their number has nearly doubled. Let us beware of adding another to the list. The important object, *per contra*, is to specify the doctrine that is most generally accepted at the present time.

Fortunately, this doctrine not only harmonises most fully with the latest advances in the biological sciences, but it also unites the largest number of votes from the scholars and adepts among the public.

Living matter or protoplasm is known to be a substance both complex and variable, which undergoes constant chemical changes. These changes, as a whole, have received the name of *metabolism*.

In the beginning of the protoplasm, there was undoubtedly a very simple element, to which the nutritive substances, while being added to it, have furnished a multiplicity of processes. These operations of "addition," "augmentation," "construction" are known under the name of *anabolism*.

The protoplasm, so long as it continues to live, finds itself, on the other hand, subjected to processes of disassimilation, which are called *catabolism*. On one side there is economy and gain; on the other, waste and diminution.

The cells—at least from this standpoint—can thus be distinguished from one another. Some show more catabolic, others more anabolic tendencies. The result will be the same with the cells as with organised individuals.

Sometimes we spend too much, and our patrimony diminishes; sometimes we follow the principles of a rational economy and even a certain avarice, and our wealth increases. Expenditure may exceed the revenue, be equal to it, or considerably less. There may, therefore, be a disproportionate expenditure of energy, a wise accumulation, or a balance between the outlay and the income.

Thus anabolism and catabolism, following each other

in the same cell, may cause, according to the preponderance of one over the other, one of these two forms, either the cell will gain in richness and assume the spheroidal shape, that of a large motionless egg, or if the expenditure predominates and the interior energy is more and more dissipated, the result will be a diminution of the size of the cell.

This preponderance of the waste or of the economy in the life of the cells will produce both their internal qualities and their external form. The mobility and quickness of the catabolic cells will impart a special energy to tha spermatozoa, or male cells; as the principle of economy, saving, stability, will give the egg form to the female cells.

The majority of biologists draw from this fact the conclusion that the female will be the product of anabolism, while when the cell has prodigal tendencies (catabolism), the male will appear.

An eminent biologist, Rolph, tells us that the masculine cells which are small and starved (for owing to their constant expenditure, they find themselves destitute of any reserve), seek the female cells which are strong and well nourished. And, precisely on account of their ponderation, the latter will have less inclination for the connection. Thus the spermatozoön will be compelled to make the advances, to pursue the others.

II. The Male and Female Cells. These cells will be distinguished according to the data previously given. The egg will be one of the larger cells, and the spermatozoön one of the smaller. The latter will lack elementary reserve (the vitellus) and exterior membranes.

Both will have their nucleus, as well as their cellular

substance. But the substance of the spermatozoön will be diminished. Its small size and the contractility and the form of its tail, predestine it to an amazing mobility. This cell will display and retain for a long time an extraordinary vitality. Both in the organism in which it is born and in that of the female where fate summons it to create new beings, the spermatozoön will be able to preserve intact its powers of procreation. Remember in regard to this subject the instance of the spermatozoa received by the queen bee. These remain in her organism for three years, and do not cease to fertilise there successive series of working bees and queens.

It is from the union of two cells, male and female, that organised beings are born. The procedure of their association has also given rise to an innumerable series of hypotheses. According to the two authorities on the subject, Strasburger for the world of plants, and Hertwig for that of animals, the important point is the union of the nucleus which each cell contains. The nucleus of the spermatozoön mingled with that of the ovule or egg, forms the fertilised substance. The two nuclei are essential for the production of organised beings; as to the part the cellular substance plays, opinions are divided. Certain biologists, like Nussbaum, even maintain that the substance of the spermatozoa of the animals plays the same part in procreation as the nucleus, while Strasburger denies it all influence.

Controversies no less great burst forth when the question concerns the explanation of the inmost processes of fertilisation. According to some opinions, the spermatozoön acts like a ferment (Sachs); others regard it as a sort of mutual digestion (Rolph).

Where biological metaphysics fails, sociology and zoo-

techny based upon statistics, bring some enlightenment. It demonstrates first of all that a multiplicity of factors act upon the sexual mystery and determine the results. According to some authorities, the age of the parents would exert a preponderating influence. Hofaker and Sadler inform us that the older male is likely to produce masculine births. On the other hand, Giron has caused the triumph of the argument that the less vigorous parent decides the sex of the child. According to many physiologists and sociologists nutrition would take precedence of all the other factors. Numerous naturalists, among them Darwin, Dusing, and Young, bring forward countless proofs in favour of this theory. Let us quote a few haphazard. We need only shut up caterpillars and condemn them to an enforced fast, to have male butterflies issue from the chrysalises. Now the eggs of the same caterpillars will, when these caterpillars are well fed, produce females. Among the aphides which infest fruit trees, we note during the summer, when their food is easily obtained and abundant, the birth of females. When autumn comes, with its inclemency and dearth, the offspring of these same aphides will be principally composed of males.

Similar phenomena have been observed in the mammalia, as well as in the human species. Among others, stress is laid upon the masculine births which prevail after years of war and bad harvests, or those of girls in wealthy or well-to-do families. Several other factors, such as temperature and the period of fecundation appear likewise to exert their influence upon sexuality.[1]

[1] Among the numerous theories let us point out that of Van Lint, according to which, if the ovule is the stronger, a male is born; in the opposite case a female.

Let us sum up all these facts. A series of causes which incite the organism to expenditure, catabolism, produces the preponderance of males, while under the influence of anabolic causes, that is, those which create and encourage economising and storing, females are born.[1]

III. Organic Sins and Virtues of the Two Sexes. The numerous prophets and adepts of this theory draw from it unexpected conclusions which afford startling confirmations of everything that antiquated physiology had pointed out as active or passive in woman. Woman is and will remain a peaceful guardian; she is and will be condemned to live according to the ideas of others; she will lack genius, but by way of compensation, being predisposed to a sort of immobility, she will practise the fireside virtues. Man, variable and active, will cause revolutions to which woman will passively submit. Man will everywhere open new paths. Woman, docile, will follow them. As the biologists—and not the least eminent of them tell us:

The more active males, with a sphere of experience naturally more extended, will have the largest brains and the most intelligence. They will have a greater cerebral variety and consequently more originality, and women will have greater stability and consequently more common sense. . . . The more intense desire and passion of the males are also the indication of a predominant *catabolism*.

[1] Quite recently Dr. Robinson has brought a new explanation into fashion. This is based upon the suprarenal capsules whose action is manifested upon the genital organs. When these capsules are very strong in the woman, and secrete abundantly, the ovules are endowed with a greater power as, by virtue of a known law, the stronger sex causes a birth opposite to its own, boys are born, etc.

The qualities which thus separate the two sexes are merely the expression of a constitutional contrast, assert authoritative biologists, such as Geddes and Thomson, and not, as people would have us believe, the product of masculine oppression.

The organic difference which separates the cells will become the basis of the whole problem of the sexes. The males, having more catabolic organisms, that is, organisms which are more active, more prodigal, will march at the head of evolution and progress, while the women, who are more passive (anabolic), whose constructive processes dominate life, will be more patient and more stable, and will especially tend toward preserving the steadfastness and integrity of the species (Brooks).

Men, by virtue of the same principle, will have more originality and will show more cerebral variety, but women will have more common sense (P. Geddes and Thomson). In short, man will think more, and woman will feel more. While Velpeau considers women as degenerate beings of a primitive masculinity, Tiedeman sees in woman only the result of an arrest in the primitive condition. The most famous among the scientists, by following parallel paths, will reach the same result.

According to Herbert Spencer, woman is only a man paralysed and arrested in his evolution, while according to Darwin, man is only a woman who has finished the cycle of her evolution. English, Germans, and French, in order to deny woman certain qualities of character and mind, follow with the same impetuosity the indications of this new biological physiology. Scientific truth knows no boundaries.

M. Sabatier, like Brooks, Rolph, or Thomson, teach a

separatist doctrine of the sexes. The active and seeking spermatozoön, showing centrifugal tendencies, he tells us, reveals at once the essential qualities of man: his inclination outward, his love of travel and adventure, and even the manner in which he will behave in life. He will be active and combative, energetic and victorious, while the passive state of the egg will predispose woman to a concentrated, domestic existence.

M. Alfred Fouillée deduces from these premises that "independence is the characteristic of the masculine sex and element, while solidarity belongs to the feminine sex and element."

We have summed up to the best of our ability the discussions, and have given the verdict verbatim. The result is a condemnation in due form, pronounced by science, or rather by a certain science. The latter has vainly attempted to soften the bearing of the judgment by introducing grounds somewhat flattering to woman. She excels, we are told, in the constancy of her affections. Being a mother, she reserves to herself a larger share of altruistic emotions. And, an honour of incalculable import, "general heredity is chiefly perpetuated by the female!" But all this does not prevent her faults and her virtues, which are associated with her constitution itself, from remaining as long as there are females and women upon earth.

This organic defect not only deprives woman forever of the faculty of having genius, and being able to exercise an initiative, but justifies all that woman has endured in the past, as being only "a mere bone taken from man" and everything which on account of her anabolism she must bear in the future.

So we are witnessing a touching spectacle of a per-

fectly modern science countersigning an article of faith as old as the world.

What truth is there in this interpretation of the phenomena of *ana* and *catabolism?* Are we not victims of one of those mirages which, while springing from science, are nevertheless illusory and erroneous? Let us admit, for an instant, that the original phenomenon remains incontestable. But, the premises being true, are not the conclusions drawn from them contradictory to the truth?

IV.—Appeal to Other Doctrines. The animated discussions of the biologists about the fecundation and the origin of the sexes illustrates, in an expressive manner, Harvey's unforgettable passage concerning the efficient cause of the chicken:

> True [he says], every one agrees that the fœtus receives its origin and its birth from the male and the female and, consequently, the egg is the product of the cock and the hen, yet neither the medical school, nor the keen brain of Aristotle have succeeded in revealing how the cock and his seed leave their imprint upon the chicken that proceeds from the egg.

Let us, however, console ourselves. Developing biology has not said its last word. Its truths have only a passing value, in the expectation of the moment when they will be replaced by more recent and veracious observations.

Eminent scientists thus contest the essential basis of all these biological speculations. Weismann, for instance, states that the spermatozoön and the egg-cell show no physiological distinction. Their importance,

according to the author of *Selection and Heredité*, is equal. *They are as* 1:1. According to him, there is not the slightest doubt that there is no quantitative distinction to make between the germinative plasma of the spermatozoön and that of the ovule. Moreover, he affirms, these are absolutely identical. And the differences in their external appearance? These merely serve to facilitate the union of the nuclei of the two cells, but their contents are always the same. Then what becomes of the larger body of the egg? What is its meaning? This larger body performs the part of nutritive aliment for the use of both the cells.

In short, the cells, male and female, have each a nucleus. Both are alike. It is upon their conjugation that fecündation depends. As to the external form which separates the spermatozoön from the egg, it possesses no importance. The larger body of the egg serves as nutrition for both cells. Without this alimentary store contained in the egg, fecundation, with its consequences, perhaps could not be accomplished. We dwell upon this interpretation of Weismann, because its importance is incalculable for all who allow themselves to be too much dominated by the fashionable scientific hypotheses.

Therefore, on one side, there is identity of positive value between the spermatozoön father and the egg-mother. On the other hand, if we desired to give ourselves up to speculations of a final nature relative to the two cells, it would be necessary to bring out plainly that the egg plays a part greater than anything else, for, while possessing a nucleus of identical value with the spermatozoön, it has also treasures of plasma that render inestimable services by permitting the

fecundation of the cells and the continuation of life.

Having recourse to Weismann's theory of heredity, which has revolutionised biology, women might even, in truth, lay claim to a sort of sexual predominance for the following reason. There are two kinds of cells, the somatic, which are used in the construction of the body, and the germinative cells. If the first are modified, the second pass through the generations unchangeable. In these germinative cells lies the problem of heredity. They incarnate, if it may be so expressed, the torch of the past generations which must be transmitted to the generations to come. Weismann tells us, "a portion of this specific plasma which the egg-mother contains remains stored without alteration, to form the germinative cells of the following generation."

The mother cell, the supreme source of the continuance of the germinal protoplasm and heredity, becomes, by this very fact, pre-eminently the primordial cell, the source of the immortality and the continuity of man. . . .[1]

Let us hope that woman, more modest than her companion, will not desire to take cruel advantage of the unexpected privilege which this new

[1] This theory is as uncertain as it appears simple. How is the immortality of the germ to be proved? So long as it has not been experimentally demonstrated, we must regard it as one of the most alluring hypotheses. However, if the germinative plasma is not continuous and immortal, there is at least continuity of creative energy. "Life, H. Bergson tells us with much justice, appears like a current, which goes from germ to germ, through the medium of a developed organism." [*L'Evolution Créatrice* (Creative Evolution), F. Alcan.] And as human beings are not reproduced after the manner of the protozoa, the spermatozoön and the ovule can claim equality of their contributive share in the formation of new organisms.

biology, differently or better directed, is worth to her.

V. Biology and Simple Logic. But what matters the good or the evil founded upon the theory of somatic and germinal cells? Even with regard to the opinion resting upon catabolic and anabolic cells, so damaging to her interests, woman will have no need to accept its somewhat too fanciful conclusions. Let us take the opposite side of the adopted interpretation, and while admitting the authenticity of the facts, we shall arrive at conclusions which, although diametrically opposed, will have the same chances of being truthful.

Let us take up the argumentation without allowing ourselves to be disturbed by all those which have made it deviate. Does not the spermatozoön of man, smaller, more variable, already indicate the versatility, the fickleness and the weakness of man? The passive ovule incarnates seriousness and weight.

The government of men and affairs should belong to woman; for since she is more balanced, more reflective, more stable, she will be able to perform her duties with continuity in her ideas and proceedings. Distrust arises concerning the spermatozoön. His instability, permitting him to be unduly influenced by circumstances, his vagabondage which is directed by his very nature, make him a dangerous element in social and political life.

He must be regarded with suspicion and kept away from commanding positions. Nature herself has indicated our path. Woman must rule, and man has only to submit to her laws and inspiration.

Thus, for whole pages, we could continue to demon-

strate the superiority of woman and the necessity for the slavery of man. And we should doubtless have as many reasons for arguing the veracity of our conclusions as our adversaries have for maintaining the contrary. It is evident that these two antiphrases are equally false and inadmissible. Science permits us only to prove the differentiated appearance of the two germs, but she does not authorise us to draw from this fact inferences either favourable or adverse to woman.

B—Woman from the Anatomical and Physiological Standpoint.

I. The Pelvis. The differences we discover in comparing the pelvis in the two sexes, are far more striking than those found in any other portion of the skeleton. They proceed especially from the variation of the bones, the muscular system, and are explained by the presence, in the woman's pelvis, of the uterus, the organ placed between the bladder and the rectum (Dr. R. Verneau).

It is the uterus, in the main, which is the principal basis of all the variations discovered in the anatomical forms of the small pelvis. For the large pelvis lacks, almost entirely, any distinctive traits. Therefore the form of the superior circumference is alike in man and woman and, from the standpoint of size, the large pelvis is equal in both sexes.

There are many other differences, to which a certain value is attached, though in reality they have no existence, or are unimportant, such as the shape of the ischio-pubic orifice or the concavity of the sacrum.

A variety of sexual variations result from the presence of the uterus in the woman. But, however, numerous

these may be, they can, of course, have no influence upon her intellectual and social qualifications.

It is of little importance that the distance of the sciatic vertebræ in man is rarely more than 107 millimetres, and often even falls below 90, while in woman higher measurements are discovered, or that the total height of the pelvis attains in man 220 millimetres, when in woman it reaches only 107; that the internal iliac fossa is less excavated in the feminine sex, or that the distance from the sciatic spine to the iliac antero-superior spine is on an average 137 in the woman, and 150 in the man; that, in the woman, the sacrum and the coccyx are lower and less flattened. We might thus enumerate a dozen other distinctive features, but they will all be of the same importance. The matter concerns descriptive differences which, for the subject that occupies our attention, are of no more moment than the colour of the hair or the shape of the nose.

II. The Vertebral Column. One of the sexual differences which have long attracted the attention of specialists is that of the vertebral column. According to the various authors who have studied this most closely by sex and by race, the dorsal segment of man in relation to the length of the spine, is greater than the woman's. On the other hand, the lumbar segment of the woman is often equal to, often even greater than, man's.

The explanation of this latter fact is very simple. The lumbar segment in woman corresponds to the abdomen. This contains, in addition to the organs in the abdomen of man, an organ destined for reproduction, more developed viscera, and a larger amount of fat. Let us not forget also that the abdomen of the woman

is destined to shelter the child from conception until birth; which renders it more important and requires its greater development. Correspondingly, the part of the vertebral column extending along the abdomen will be more developed in the woman.

How then does it occur that the woman's vertebral column should be smaller than the man's? It is because the difference affects especially the two superior thirds of the dorsal segment (M. Soutarne). To state precisely, the first nine dorsals are usually larger in man, but the tenth and eleventh are equal or superior, while the twelfth dorsal with respect to the total length is undeniably higher in woman. We confine ourselves to pointing out these facts which, undeniable or denied, adduce no argument for the intellectual and psychological differentiation of the two sexes.

According to Dr. E. Dally, the characteristic points are reduced to these. The vertebral column in woman is longer in the lumbar region; the shafts of the coccyx bones are not oval as in man, but more rounded; the direction of the neck of the femur is more transverse; the body of the vertebræ is depressed, the transverse processes are less accentuated, less straight, and a little inclined backward, the spinal orifice and the orifices of conjugation smaller. The sternum is generally longer and narrower in woman than in man. The ribs of the woman are straighter than those of the man, the union of the anterior and posterior segments is more abrupt and the curve of the latter is less pronounced, etc.

In short, the projection of the crests and processes, the depressions, grooves, and imprints, are less defined in woman than in man.

These distinctive features depend upon many transi-

tory circumstances, including the subject's occupation. A certain number of them can be observed by comparing men themselves. Thus scientists leading a sedentary office life are much more akin to women than to field labourers.

III. Figure and Weight. Woman's appearance attracts our attention at once by certain features which are peculiar to her. Man looks more imposing and stouter. His greater height, his more solid muscles, the expression of vigour in his eyes and movements, give him a stamp of evident superiority. Woman, on the contrary, impresses us by the delicacy of her features, the slowness and indecision of her gait. In this respect she resembles the child rather than the man. These characteristic points of woman show themselves in her early youth and ordinarily remain until the age of ten or twelve years. At this period of their life the little girls begin again to excel the young boys. They keep this advantage for several years, on an average until the sixteenth, then their growth stops, while the boys continue to progress. It comes to an almost complete cessation with the young girls after twenty, and with the boys after twenty-five years.

The result of numerous anthropometrical studies[1] made in this order of ideas is that the maximum of growth in boys takes place at the age of fifteen, in girls at twelve. The influence of the climate may retard or arrest this average by a year. The undeniable fact, however, is that the little girls attain their normal development several years earlier.

[1] See, among others, the works of Bowditch, Pagliani, A. Key, Dr. Sargent, etc.

A comparison of the height and the weight of the two sexes, on reaching maturity, will prove the absolute superiority of man. Thus the French woman shows a height 12 centimetres less than that of man (Topinard); in the United States (Sargent) 13 centimetres, while in Belgium this inferiority would be only 10 centimetres to the prejudice of woman (Quetelet). The difference would proceed chiefly from the fact that woman's legs are much shorter than man's. Let us add, however, that the trunk is relatively longer in woman than in man, and this is the reason that women, when seated, give the impression of being taller than the other sex.

According to numerous measurements, this inequality extends from one to three centimetres. The earlier cessation of feminine evolution is doubtless the entire cause. It is enough to compare the height of children and especially that of men whose growth for any reason whatever is arrested. In every case, the body will be relatively longer. Comparisons drawn from the heights of giants and of dwarfs will only confirm this truth. What we notice in the giants is chiefly the length of the lower limbs, like their small proportion in the dwarfs.

This relative shortness of the legs especially lessens the distance between the woman and the child.

In following these visible differences, we discover the one between the dimensions of the extremities of the feet and of the hands, and the more important one between the viscera. Yet it is beyond doubt that the seat of the inferiority of woman is not found in these regions. We seek and believe we find the causes of this inferiority in the height and the distinct muscular power of the two sexes. But these two facts, which

have not been able to serve as a basis for the division, and especially for the moral and intellectual gradation of the races, can no longer be used as a point of demarcation between the two sexes.

In reality, the matter concerns merely fleeting qualities. The kind of life, the climate, the food, are the principal factors under whose influence the differences between individuals, peoples, and races vanish. The result is the same with women as with men. In countries where women devote themselves to sports and live a great deal in the open air, their height and also their muscular strength considerably increase. It is enough to observe in this connection the Swedes and the English. Certain English sports having invaded the Continent and the women having applied themselves to cultivating them in imitation of men, a perceptible improvement in their health has followed. Their physical vigour has increased, and their average height has risen several centimetres. In the United States, in the multi-millionaire world, the fact has often been pointed out that the women frequently exceed the men in height. The cause is: the young men, absorbed by their passion for adding to their wealth, spend less time in the open air and cultivate sports less.

Women have at birth much the same height as men. According to certain anthropologists the weaker sex, in this respect, would even be favoured. According to the measurements published by the anthropometric Committee of the British Association[1] the girls, at birth, would be one fifth of a centimetre taller. Bow-

[1] Report of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association, 1883.

ditch's works upon the growth of children, as well as those of Axel Key, and Pagliani for the Anglo-Saxon countries, attest that, during the period of puberty, little girls surpass, from the standpoint of height, the little boys. They undergo, later, an obvious stop which enables the boys to overtake and excel them. Usually, after reaching the age of sixteen, the girls begin to grow again, but their growth stops at the age of twenty, while that of the boys often continues till they are twenty-four or twenty-five. These periods of cessation and resumption vary, moreover, according to the climates and the occupations of the subjects. The boys grow most in their sixteenth and the girls in their thirteenth or, in northern climates, in their fourteenth year.

The differentiation of height in the two sexes results chiefly from the stoppage of growth in the woman, while it continues in the man. The height also depends principally upon the mode of life and the conditions of environment. Woman's muscular strength is undoubtedly inferior to man's. The cause of this lies in woman's inactivity and her situation through the ages. Heredity aiding, woman ought, logically, to find herself, in this respect, far behind man. And not only are her muscles weaker, but also her joints. Under the influence of sports and physical exercises, her muscles are strengthening. The women of the lower classes who are compelled to labour in the fields, or to carry burdens, become more robust than men leading a sedentary life in the great cities. In the primitive races, woman, thanks to her mode of life and occupations, possesses a vigour equal to man's; though carrying one or even two children on her shoulders or her hips, she performs much

more labour. Among the Hottentots or the Kaffirs, woman threshes the wheat and builds the huts, finds, brings, and chops the wood, while the men sleep or devote themselves to cynical conversations (Thomson). After the battle of Adoua, the wives of the Abyssinian soldiers carried on their backs, for whole hours, their wounded husbands, whose left legs according to the barbarous customs of the country had been cut off.

Comparative sociology furnishes us with numerous documents in support of this, nevertheless, very simple truth that, under the influence of exercise, manner of life, and work accomplished through a series of generations, woman attains, with regard to her muscular powers, the level of man.

The education of women devoting themselves to professional athleticism and the results obtained from special and prolonged training, only corroborate these facts. A more characteristic thing: the feminine offspring of female athletes usually inherit their acquired strength.

Neither the height nor the weight have anything to do with sexuality. The advantages which one sex displays to the detriment of the other are purely accidental.

Thus, among almost all insects, the males are usually much smaller than the females. The female bonellie shelters the male, which lives at her expense, like a mere parasite. His dimensions are a hundred times smaller than those of the female.

I have developed elsewhere this argument that, thanks to the evolution of comfort and the diffusion of hygienic principles, the height of mankind, far from lessening, is insensibly but steadily increasing. The

race of giants of which the religious books of the peoples speak, is only a myth. While Deuteronomy describes the existence of men still larger than Goliath, who was nine feet, four inches tall, the Greek classics, faithful to tradition, do not cease to lament the diminutive figures of their times in comparison with those of their ancestors.

Plutarch, imitating Homer and Hesiod, teaches that his fellow-citizens could not be compared in point of height with the new-born infants of the ancients. Pliny even scientifically establishes the existence of certain ancestors whose stature would have exceeded twenty metres. . . .

At the present day, thanks to palæontology, we know, on the contrary, that the man of our day is taller than the one of the age of polished stone.

While the man of the quaternary period (Neanderthal) would be only 1.613 metres; the man of Spy, 1.610 metres; the troglodyte of Chancelade would, in his turn, be only 1.612 metres. They would, therefore, have been below the average height of a man of our times.

We, however, always believe the contrary. This is because man views past ages with tenderness and regards the future with terror. We must also add the conscious or unconscious deceptions of which mankind has been and continues to be the victim. Thus, for instance, the custom of burying the knights and their steeds together produced a singular confusion in our ideas relative to the height of the men and the horses. The protestations of the scholars are often shattered against public credulity, which holds to its illusions rather than to the arguments of science or those of good sense.

In Valence, people do not cease to revere, as a relic of Saint Christopher, the molar tooth of a mammoth. A curious collection of bones of saints in Cracovia contains, in reality, according to MM. Launois and Roy, merely half the jaw-bone of a cetacean, a bone of a mastodon, and the skull of a rhinoceros.

The scientists themselves, deluded by ancient beliefs, often with incredible carelessness mistake the old bones of animals for human skeletons. Remember the famous and gigantic skeleton of the Teuton king, named Teutobochus. He was traced to his civic position. We were even led to admire his life and his exploits, until one fine day it was discovered that the skeleton of the fictitious king was really made up from the incomplete bones of a mastodon.

When the height of men is compared, we perceive what a lasting life certain popular beliefs possess. Doubtless nations of giants have never existed, but if civilisation pursues its normal path perhaps they may be seen at the end of twenty centuries.

Height and physical strength are developing by a life in the open air and rational physical exercises. All who deserve their advantages receive the benefit of their virtues and their attractions. Woman, who now finds herself in a position of inferiority with respect to man, can in time easily fill up the gap which separates her from her companion.

Let us add, also, that the measurements of height are usually made in a manner by no means scientific. Instead of measuring the women and the men who are living in the same conditions of comfort, following the same profession, or leading the same idle life, people confine themselves to comparing the height of any men

with the height of women chosen anywhere. But the mode of life exerts a sensible influence, since the difference in stature between the rich and the poor sometimes reaches ten centimetres.

Very recently, two scientists, MM. Dr. A. Marie and MacAuliffe, measured 255 French women. Their height, they aver, would be 1.57 metres, against the average one of French men, rising to 1.65 metres.

We must note, however, that according to Dr. Papillaud, the difference in height between the two sexes, in France, would be only 7 centimetres. According to Professor Manouvrier, who has worked upon the slips submitted for identification at the prefecture of police in Paris, the difference would be only 6 centimetres.

Muscular strength and height have no connection with the social and intellectual aptitudes. What is mind, properly so-called? Is it a transformation of the energy of muscular power? That is by no means probable. The discoveries by which the human race makes the most progress, usually cost their authors far less expenditure of physical vigour than this or that page of a feeble writer composed with all the effort of which his impotence is capable.

A sensible woman often finds in an instant, a practical solution which a Hercules in body, but a dullard in mind, would not discover by making his meninges work for weeks. There are writers who spend a whole lifetime of painful exertions to create an inept book which is not worth a single page produced in an hour by a lucid brain.

The nervous energy whence thought flows has perhaps nothing in common with muscular strength and stature. Famous men are recruited from the men of

small size. The majority of those who are celebrated show a height below the average. Plato or Socrates, Aristotle, Epictetus, Alexander the Great, Balzac, Montaigne, Spinoza, Lalande, Linnæus, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Kant, Victor Hugo, Cavour, Thiers, and so many other guiding minds of humanity, have never been distinguished either for the power of their muscles or for their height. So, even if fate had condemned woman to remain, in this respect, eternally inferior to man, this should not cause her undue sorrow. We can easily console ourselves for things inaccessible to us from the moment we discover that they can influence neither our intellectual faculties nor our happiness. But, in truth, woman, with regard to this matter, stands on the same footing as man. Her physical organisation is perfectible. Her height and her strength depend chiefly upon her thoroughly understood and carefully balanced life.

IV. The Brain. The brain is the seat of the intelligence, and it is here that we should find the sexual differences which would justify the inferiority of woman. The search will be vain. Even the trivial distinctions pointed out between the races do not exist between the two sexes. We know the variety of characteristic traits pointed out and studied by craniometry. Its complex and manifold measurements are no longer regarded. Not only do we have all sorts of these, but they have been established according to the most dissimilar methods. Each classic anthropology notes expecially the cranial capacity established by guaging and cubature; then follow the cephalic index, the cephalo-orbital, the vertical index, and twenty others.

One of the most important measurements is undoubtedly the one which deals with the cephalic index, that is, the relation between the antero-posterior maximum (the greatest length of the skull) and the transversal maximum (the greatest width.) This index, which varies among the races, has been a guiding-mark for the distinction and even the condemnation of a large portion of the human race.

I have had occasion to examine elsewhere[1] all the inconsistencies which craniometry has introduced into the science of races. We will restrict ourselves to summing up the most significant, which will furnish an approximate idea of the whole. These same superficial distinctions which have been used to divide men in general, have been equally utilised to prove the unequal worth of the sexes.

The despisers of woman have particularly espoused the popular error that "a large head is equivalent to a wise head." But Parchappe (1835) in his investigations, which later were summed up and amplified by Broca, had already proved that even idiocy and imbecility have nothing to do with the dimensions of the head. Intelligence, Parchappe asserts, may attain its normal degree in a head whose size is inferior, equal, or scarcely superior to that of the idiots. A still more conclusive point is that the size of our heads and also the shape of our skulls are modified by education.

Under these conditions, the craniological differences observed in the two sexes lose the importance which it has been desired to attribute to them. For instance, according to Welcker, the skulls of the German women

[1] See my *Préjugé des Races* (3d edition. Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine. F. Alcan).

should be generally narrower and flatter than those of German men. According to Virchow, in descendants in whom the maternal influence predominates, this craniological point would be found more emphasised. But as the training or the labour to which we subject our brains tend, in their turn, to reshape these transitory outlines, their forms lose their entire meaning. Remember the convincing demonstrations of Broca. After having found that the hospital surgeons in the hospital of Bicêtre (compared with the mere hospital attendants) had larger heads, the learned anthropologist drew the conclusion that the education which they have received, "made their brains act and favoured their development." Their heads were found to be enlarged because their frontal region was also enlarged.

Lacassagne and Cliquet, having undertaken a verification of the thesis maintained by their illustrious predecessor, resorted to measurements made of 190 physicians, 133 soldiers who had received primary instruction, 72 illiterate soldiers, and 91 prisoners. Their conclusions simply confirm Broca's argument that intellectual labour not only enlarges the brain, but also perfects its forms. Therefore, among educated people, the frontal region is found to be more developed relatively than the occipital region, and with the enlargement of the frontal lobes and the increased size of the brain, the external form of the skull is also changed.

We know the peculiar and anti-scientific fancies of Gobineau, relative to the cephalic index. Beguiled by the intellectual and moral worth of the German nation, which he regarded as dolichocephalic, he has exalted the virtues of the men with narrow skulls to the detriment of the brachycephalic men. Gobinism, which

still continues to rage in Germany, and is now encountered more and more in France and elsewhere, has thus reached the most fantastic conclusions. The adepts of this doctrine, taking their stand upon the scientific measurements of skulls, find themselves compelled to place on the same level the Frenchmen of Roussillon and the Bushmen; the Chuvashes or the Cheremisses; the Frenchman of the Department of the North and the Teleoutes; the Nicobarese, and the Crow Indians; the Frenchmen of Perigord and the Nahuquas of Brazil; and Frenchmen in general with the Votiaks, Patagonians, Polynesians of Tahiti, the Tartars, the Mordvins, and the Javanese.

We can no longer doubt, however, that mankind is progressing toward the brachycephalic forms. The reason for this is very simple. The head, in order to afford room for our ever increasing knowledge, must necessarily be enlarged, and the brachycephalic form is indicated to receive and to maintain the number of facts and increasing ideas which flow into our brains. (Virchow). Nystrom, the learned anthropologist, while examining five hundred Swedes, a nation pre-eminently dolichocephalic, found confirmation of this forecast of the future. Out of one hundred dolichocephalic persons, only 23.5 belonged to the educated classes, while among one hundred brachycephalic people 58 were men of intellect.

But we need only refer to the influence exerted by the surrounding environment in the United States upon the cranial conformation of immigrants, to establish its character.[1] The children of the immigrants show, from the first generation, radical alterations in the shape of

[1] See *The Death-Agony of the Races*, by Jean Finot (*La Revue* edition).

their heads. For instance, the children of the Jews from oriental Europe change from the brachycephalic to the dolichocephalic type; while the children of the immigrants from southern Italy, who are very dolichocephalic, become brachycephalic. The offspring of these two races, so widely different, thus tend to adapt themselves to the common type created by the climate and the conditions of life in the United States. Of course, the same phenomenon is observed in both boys and girls. The rapidity with which this transformation takes place is all the more astonishing because the skull has always been considered an unchanging portion of the body.

We may add, moreover, that woman, from the standpoint of the cephalic index, could not be separated from the stronger sex. It is true that if, according to certain anthropologists, she cannot, in this respect, be distinguished from man, according to others, such as Broca, Quatresages, and Welcker, she would be, in Europe, far more dolichocephalic than man. But there is a third category of scientists, no less distinguished, who affirm that, on the contrary, woman in Europe would be more brachycephalic than man. To permit us to enjoy to the full the amusing side of statements so radically antagonistic, we may mention among the anthropologists of this school authorities such as Topinard, Weissbach, and Mantegazza.

When American women or African women are under discussion, the dissensions in anthropologist circles are no less glaring. Consequently we have no means of deducing any conclusion whatever upon the subject of the superiority or the inferiority of woman, just as there is no way of basing upon the same craniological division a gradation of the human races.

The weight of the brain, also, does not correspond with intellectuality; for in the animal scale, man does not seem to be favoured in this respect. When, moreover, the weight of the body is noted, in relation to that of the brain, it is established that the trivial differences among many animals do not agree with the opinion of them which we teach. For instance, this relation is 1 to 106 in cats, and 1 to 546 in lions. Can we thereby deduce that lions are five times less intelligent than cats? But what is to be said of the cranial capacity? Admitting the authenticity of the measurements made by Broca, we reach the conclusion that if the natives of Auvergne, with their cranial capacity (1598) are marching at the head of the human race, the Parisians, who are reputed to be very acute and very intelligent, descend to the level of the Esquimaux. As to the cubages made by Morton, their result is simply that the Americans of the United States of North America are, in this respect, inferior to the negroes of Oceania and Africa. The weight of the brain also varies according to the occupations and the height. From approximate calculations 7.7 to 8.8 grammes of brain correspond with one centimetre of height. Tall men usually have heavier brains. The weight also depends upon the age of the subject. At the age of three months, it represents one fifth of the weight of the whole body; at seven years old, one fifteenth, while in the adult it is one thirty-third. But, commencing with the forty-fifth year, the weight of the brain begins to lessen; and it also diminishes from other causes—lack of intellectual exercise.

The brain of woman is also charged with having less beautiful circumvolutions. These are said, too, to be

less ample, and moreover, her brain has fewer corrugations. The latter objection deeply impresses the ignorant, but all who know that certain animals which are regarded as stupid and dull, such as sheep, for instance, possess extremely corrugated convolutions, cannot help smiling at the thought of the supposed advantages which this circumstance ought to procure for man.

Let us, however, consider this question more thoroughly. The localisation of the cerebral faculties is only in its infancy. We do not know, in reality, the seat of talent or of genius, of the faculty of comprehension, or of the initiative spirit. We do not even know how an auditory or a visual sensation is transformed into an idea. Has the cerebral composition any influence whatever upon the wealth of our thoughts and the degree of our intellectuality? How does the small gelatinous mass in an ant elaborate a whole world of directing ideas of organisation and operation of labour which appears to be entirely lacking in a horse or in an elephant that is at liberty? Is it the nervous cell that thinks? Does this cell construct the limitless world of our ideas? Or is it, perhaps, the surrounding conjunctive tissue which aids and directs it in this work? Is thought a mere transformation of energy and muscular strength? What do we know concerning all these things? Or, rather, we know nothing about them. We see ideas born, act, and make their way. But we are ignorant, and for a long time we shall still continue to be ignorant of the manner of their fabrication in the nerve cells, or in other elements which serve as their foundation or aid.

Cerebral Localisations. There should be no mistake with regard to the character of our statement on the

subject of cerebral localisations. This science is still too recent for us to despair of its future conquests. Yet, after having disturbed, at its outset, several of our fundamental ideas upon cerebration; after having made us hope for the solution of so many doubtful problems, concerning among other matters the appearance and the operation of genius and of talent, it is dishearteningly slow in the realisation of its promises. Since the publication of the first works of Bevan Levis and of Henry Clarke upon the histological localisations of the brain, it is impossible to record encouraging triumphs in this respect. And it is not the fault of the workers; for, after these two forerunners who came to us about the year 1875, there is a succession of scientists of all schools who have not disdained to follow in their footsteps. Besides Vogt, Kaes, Max Nordau, J. Turner, G. Watson, we may cite also Brodman, as well as Campbell, and especially Joseph Shaw Bolton, who has published some most remarkable works upon this subject.

The asserted discoveries in this province relate principally to abnormal and morbid phenomena of the brain, such as insanity and idiocy.

Yet Bolton himself is obliged to show how difficult it is to arrive at positive conclusions.

The exact limitation of the areas of the same structure becomes almost impossible when we consider the lack of fixity of the guiding-marks. Moreover, there are individual differences as important as they are undeniable. Even admitting that individual capacities may have a structural basis, we do not yet know anything about the conditions that facilitate or retard their opening, their importance, or their essence. With this

reserve let us admit that, on the credit side of cerebral histology, is placed the localisation in thickness which would complete that of surface.

But, on the other hand, what is to be done with the infinite individual variations whose character, genesis, and conditions of operation totally escape us? Is there anything surprising in the fact that clinical medicine or surgery should not yet have drawn anything from these studies, however vast, rich, and varied they may be?

With regard to feminine intellectuality, cerebral histology remains absolutely mute. And yet this science alone might have been able (will it ever be?) to save us from the deluge of sterile works relative to the comparative intellectual capacity of the two sexes.

The comparison of the brains of the two sexes can therefore furnish only descriptive qualities. More: the differentiation appears to result rather from the divergence of the labour to which their brains are subjected. When, without prejudice, we compare all the craniological varieties discovered among the different races of mankind we perceive that there is nothing in them that is unchangeable. Even admitting that there might be, in this respect, marked distinctions between man and woman, these would have no importance from the standpoint of her intellectual, social, or political claims. The distinctive traits in question may, if necessary, serve as a fleeting or conventional differentiation, but they exert no influence upon the part which woman must or will play in the society of the present day, or in that of the future.

V. Concerning the Comparison of Angles. The prejudices of sex are closely akin to the prejudices of races.

The partisans of both often share the same belief concerning the inferiority of the nations and of the sexes. A close bond appears to unite their mentality. We even frequently encounter, from their pens, the same wealth of false arguments, the same facility of generalisations, and the same credulity with regard to certain technical terms which prove nothing.

Thus the attempt has been made to apply to woman the numberless measurements which were intended to humiliate her in her dignity as a human being, just as they were designed to deprive of any hope of improvement the races wrongly regarded as inferior.

Woman's detractors have also resorted to comparisons drawn from a thousand and one methods placed at our disposal by descriptive anthropology. They have sought to base the inferiority of woman upon the craniofacial angle of Huxley, the metafacial angle of Serres, the nasobasal one of Welcker and Virchow, the sphenoidal one of Welcker, the facial angle of Camper, and many other comparative measurements, pointing out the differences between peoples and races. These quasi-scientific efforts are condemned in advance to utter failure. At first sight there is a sort of harmony between the skull and the face, the latter being only the prolongation or the complement of the former and as craniological variations possess no importance from the standpoint of the intellectual value of the subjects, the same rule applies to the facial dissimilarities between the two sexes. We may note also, that the differences verified among men, independently of their social origin, are far more weighty than those existing between the two sexes.

In short, the question concerns individual differences

which possess a descriptive value. These bear witness that men compared with men, men compared with women, and also women compared with women, show certain dissimilarities which do not allow classification. Just as the leaves of a tree, which apparently resemble one another yet, when observed more closely, reveal differences which separate and characterise them, human beings, when carefully examined, show us a variety of dissimilar details. Now, these details, while facilitating the task of individual identification, adduce no argument in favour of an intellectual and moral gradation of the two sexes.

The scorners of woman start from the standpoint that man who belongs to the white races, constitutes the highest type of humanity. All who depart from it show a stoppage, a retrogression and, at any rate, a certain inferiority. Just as scientists who are imbued with race prejudices see in every distinctive trait of the yellow or the black men the proof of their position below the whites, so certain biologists and physiologists take pleasure in finding in all the specific distinctions of woman, her inferiority with regard to man. We have demonstrated elsewhere the injustice of this theory when it concerns races: it is equally so when the question deals with the relative worth of the two sexes.

The majority of these distinctions are simply the results of conditional causes. Nutrition, age, climate, and occupation here exert their dominating influence. And, from the moment that, by our will, an inferiority can be transformed or disappear, it is reduced to a purely descriptive character.

VI. Masculine and Feminine Blood. In pursuance of this order of ideas the composition of feminine blood

has been described. The blood of men would have more red globules. According to Bocquerel and Rodier, in the dry state the weight of the globules would be 142 in man and 127 in woman. According to the calculations established by Malassez, masculine blood would contain 4,500,000 globules per cubic millimetre, while in feminine blood there would be only 3,500,000.

But, the number of the globules varies according to our mode of life and the conditions of the surrounding environment. A resident of Paris whose blood, according to the same Malassez, contains only 3,900,000 globules, has only to go to the country to find their number increase to 4,500,000 while at the sea-shore, it might reach 4,500,000 per cubic millimetre. As the same phenomenon occurs in the feminine sex, a Parisian woman making a sojourn at the beach might suddenly become superior to her husband who had remained in the capital.

The weight of the globules depends largely upon alimentation. According to G. Sée, inanition may lower the weight from 127 to 82. Here also an inexhaustible field of consolation opens before woman.

Feminine blood, having fewer red globules, would on the other hand, contain more white globules. We find in woman one white globule to 250 red ones, against 300 in man. The man's blood would be also redder. The proportion of the dry corpuscles would be 141 gr. 10 in the man and 127.20 in the woman. But we need only turn to the animal world and we shall see how much this phenomenon depends upon the conditions of environment. Nutrition, especially, exercises a considerable influence upon the number of the dry globules.

We note the same result with hemoglobine or iron in the blood.

Laying aside analyses which are often fantastic and the comparisons between subjects who are dissimilar in age, state of health, and social condition, the statements made with respect to the comparative blood bear witness neither against nor in behalf of woman.

VII. Other Distinctions. Among the other facts of inferiority, this may also be cited: The feminine organism contains less chloride of sodium. In the scale of living beings, the more developed species always have more salt. A bird has a larger amount than a fish; the latter, in this respect, is superior to a frog. And as the feminine body contains less salt, woman would be, therefore, inferior to man. But all that has been said previously applies equally to this trait of inferiority. Nutrition and the manner of life contribute to increase or to diminish the quantity of salt in the organism.

Thus, for instance, G. Delaunay, one of the most resolute partisans of the inferiority of woman, informs us that the leg of a chicken, owing to the more frequent labour imposed upon it, is salter than the wing.

Woman finds still less mercy with certain scientists who dwell upon the chemical composition of her bones. For, while those of men show 58.32 of phosphate of lime, 9.98 of carbonate of lime, 31.78 of organic matter, and 68.30 of inorganic matter, the bones of woman have only 4.52 of carbonate of lime and 62.15 of phosphates of lime, 33.33 of organic, and 66.67 of inorganic matter. What particularly disturbs those who depreciate the weaker sex is the by no means favourable proportion of carbonate of lime. As neither the intelligence nor the

moral qualities have anything to do with carbonate of lime, the matter undoubtedly concerns only the physical powers or the solidity of the organism. But, when the different animals are compared, it is discovered that while the bones of fish contain 5.3, those of chickens 10.4 and those of sheep 19.3, the bones of the lion, according to Frémy, contain only 2.5, or at the maximum, 4 of carbonate of lime. Man would thus bear a closer resemblance to chickens and sheep, and woman to lions!

Finally, what is to be said of other disadvantageous comparisons, drawn from the organism of woman! For instance, her skeleton, though lighter, would be so only in proportion of 8.5 per cent., while that of man would be 10.5 per cent. in comparison with the total weight of the body. Her bony depressions and the projections to which the muscles are attached would also be much less developed.

The bone of the arm (the humerus) shows in the lower extremity a lesser torsion than that of man. We also find more frequently in the feminine skeleton than in that of man, the olecranian perforation which H. de Varigny affirms is a mark of inferiority, a feature often found in the gorilla and orangoutang and more frequently in the inferior than in the superior races.

Asymmetry, it will be added, is less pronounced in the feminine sex. But—which might be doubted—asymmetry is a mark of superiority and, in this respect, man excels woman. And, by way of a reason that she has developed less than man, Delaunay, for instance, will maintain that she is more backward, and this is why the pre-eminence of the right limbs over the left ones is less frequently encountered in woman than in man.

Broca, long before certain physiologists of our times, proclaimed that asymmetry is a mark of superiority!!!

While in the white man, the right limbs are stronger and heavier than the left limbs, the extremities in woman are found to be equal in strength and weight (Harting).

But in reality, asymmetry, which has caused the condemnation of woman, proves nothing in favour of man. In the first place, it is undeniable that the organism is more symmetrical in proportion to its youth. It becomes asymmetrical later as a result of our bad habits of labour, and our defective and incomplete physical exercises.

All fencers know that by working with the left hand they succeed in giving it the same dexterity as the right one. We can also raise the same weight with each of our hands, if we train these harmoniously. P. Godin, who has devoted his attention particularly to asymmetry, proves that the very asymmetries which we choose to regard as primitive, proceed from action. In his report to the Academy of Sciences,[1] he points out that he has seen different asymmetries more or less completely effaced, not excepting those of the upper limbs, in youths whom, aided by enlightened educators, he "had succeeded in leading to acquire the habit of bi-manual action."

Asymmetry resulting from defective activity in man would in no sense constitute his superiority.

We may add that the arterial tension is weaker in woman, that her heart is smaller and lighter; that, in her, the thymus, the thyroid gland are heavier; that her pulse is more frequent, that her respiratory capacity is

[1] Session of October 3d, 1910.

less by a pint than that of man (three quarts instead of three quarts and a half); that woman produces less heat and that her temperature is less. . . .

To exhaust this long series of the visible or invisible differences between the two sexes, we may quote that established by Mlle. M. Lambert and Dr. Balthazard.[2] The hairs of the eyebrows, as well as the hair of the feminine head, are generally finer than those of man. On the other hand woman's eyelashes possess a diameter superior by more than a third to the eyelashes of man—95 thousandths of millimetres instead of 60.

The enumeration is a lengthy one; all its links, taken together or individually, weigh little and are worth still less. The point in question often concerns individual differences which, even if real, could exert no influence upon the human importance of woman. Placed in other conditions of nutriment or activity, woman would infallibly lose the virtues and the vices which, in this respect, distinguish her from man. . . .

We say virtues and vices for, to tell the truth, it requires a courage which has nothing in common with science to qualify these distinctions of superior or inferior.

For instance, what conclusion is to be drawn from an allegation that woman produces less heat? She might answer that, as she loses less of it, thanks to her more developed adipose system, she is thus quits with the eternal principle of things.

VIII. The Senses of Woman. In the vast process brought against woman, all the papers in the file have

[2] *Le poil de l'homme et des animaux*, by Mlle. M. Lambert, and Dr. Balthazard.

been utilised. Thus her whole body, from her head to her feet, has been incriminated. Has it not been asserted that as her foot is flatter and less arched than that of man, it consequently reveals an undeniable mark of inferiority, for the reason that the races considered inferior to the whites have the same conformation. It would perhaps be needless to pause at this consideration, but after having passed through the sieve even the analysis of her skeleton and the comparative value of her bones, has it not also been maintained that her senses were less developed than those of man?

A discussion, already more than fifty years old, has been going on concerning the subject of the lesser sensitiveness of woman. The data in this respect which experimental psycho-physiology offers to us are as numerous as they are contradictory. If Lombroso and his school maintain that almost all the senses are more obtuse in woman, Mantegazza and many of his pupils assert the contrary. Behind these two vast generalisations numerous partial theories are sheltered. Some admit that women have a finer sense of touch than men to the detriment of other manifestations of sensibility, while others will affirm the contrary. The reasons for all these contradictions lie chiefly in the fact that the experimenters have examined only a limited number of subjects. A more important point is that the observations are made in different countries. Environment, including the manner of life, exert a direct influence upon our sensitiveness. Savages and primitive peoples show much less sensitiveness to pain than civilised man. Among the latter, those who are more refined, more habituated to the abnormal existence entailed by the life of thought or pleasure, will be, in their turn, far

more sensitive to suffering than are field labourers. This differentiation, appearing under certain conditions of environment, cannot therefore be attributed to sexuality itself, but to the mode of existence that separates the two sexes.

We may set aside the extremely glaring divergencies among the experimenters. While Lombroso offers us proofs that the sense of touch is far more obtuse in woman, Jastrow will prove the opposite. The same condition exists with regard to taste, smell, and hearing. Nichols and Bailey assert that the sense of smell is much less keen in woman, but Dr. Ottolenghi will maintain an antagonistic argument. The first two will tell us that the essence of lemon, dissolved in water, is not perceived by woman until a double quantity has been used. As to prussic acid, the proportion is one to five. A man could smell it when diluted with 500,000 times its amount of water, while a woman does not notice the presence of prussic acid in a mixture that contained five times less water. Following this path, we shall even be told that certain callings such as tasters of wine, sorters of wool, or appraisers of tea and coffee must be denied to woman. Her incapacity to distinguish the quality of wines has principally exercised the minds of many psychologists. Should not this inferiority be regarded rather as a sign of superiority, according to the angle of our judgment? Smell and taste especially require to be exercised. To appreciate a liquor we must drink. Moreover, it must be sipped with patience and enjoyment. Women usually avoid liquor and leave it to men. The latter, having been devoted from time immemorial to this species of pleasures, have succeeded in this respect, thanks to

heredity, in far outstripping the other sex. Yet the example of the women, though these are fortunately still very rare, who pursue the worship of wines and high living, remains to comfort men. Who among us has not witnessed the flawless judgments certain women give concerning the various brands of champagne or Spanish wines? So we need not despair of having women tasters in the future.

The relative insensibility to pain, also debated by several scientists, might be explained by the greater variety and frequency of suffering in woman than in man. Mantegazza will even say that she suffers a hundred times more than man. But Sergi disputes it. Like the child, she is more irritable. But we must not be deceived by outward signs of suffering. She weeps and screams at the slightest cause. But these signs of pain do not express pain, and the learned Italian anthropologist even pronounces in connection with this a disturbing opinion on the subject "of the arrest of the development of woman in comparison with that of man." In this province, as in so many others, the effect of education and the mode of life play a preponderating part. Women who are mingled in the active life of men lose very quickly the disposition to weep, to scream, or to gesticulate. They control themselves far better and show a very marked resistance to the wounds of self-love or to the adversities of fortune. After all, we may console ourselves for this lesser sensibility of woman, even though it were as real as Lombroso thinks; for, he tells us, it is thanks to this relative insensibility that women, in spite of the sufferings of child-bearing, and the small share they have in the pleasures of love, so readily again become expectant

mothers. "Man," he adds, "with his exaggerated sensibility, would not do as much."

Yet we may note that all these statements lack scientific strictness. While certain observers taunt woman with her less developed senses, others laud their acuteness, which surpasses that of man. Ottolenghi and Di Mattei in Italy, Stern in Germany, and Galton in England tell us that young girls and women in general would be more sensitive to tactile influences than boys and men. Mme. Tarnovsky, on the other hand, points out that tactile sensitiveness depends chiefly upon the environment in which we live. Residents of the country as well as criminals, would have senses more obtuse than the inhabitants of cities.

As for sensibility to pain, Macdonald, contrary to Lombroso, thinks that in woman, of all ages, this would be far superior to that of men. Even admitting that woman feels pain less, might not this be a sign of will, as well as the results of a long education in resistance which has been given to her by centuries of masculine tyranny?

The experiments of Bailey and Nichols concerning the less keen sense of smell in woman, have been disputed by Garbini, Toulouse, Vaschide, Di Mattei, and several others.

On the other hand, we are told that blindness is more frequent in men. Yet women, according to certain oculists, are more often near-sighted. We are also told that women cannot distinguish colours so well as men. But woman might perhaps boast of this, for the result of investigations made by Professor George Wilson[1] upon students belonging to different races,

[1] *Researches in colour blindness.*

shows that the Kaffirs, members of a race called inferior, are, in this respect, more highly endowed than the English. Blake and Franklin, who have examined hundreds of Indians of both sexes, found very few cases of insensibility to colour among the men, and none at all among the women.

Deafness is also more frequent among men than among women. Gellé[1] insists upon the veracity of this thesis, which is established and confirmed by the observations of Zaufal, Urbantschitsch, Marc d'Espine, and so many others.

In short, woman, with regard to the senses is sometimes above, sometimes below man. Sometimes she approaches more closely than does man, the races called superior, sometimes she moves farther from them. But all these investigations, for the most part, remain uncertain and contradictory. Even admitting the possibility of drawing from them any positive conclusions, these would teach us nothing concerning the superiority or the inferiority of one of the two sexes.

IX. Feminine Cerebration. Certain intellectual manifestations of woman have been attacked. Thousands of inquiries and inquirers have endeavoured to snatch from her the specific secrets of her manner of thought, of her associations of ideas, of the rapidity and the depth of her sensations transformed into perceptions, of the strength, the richness, or the permanence of her memory. But vainly, in the whole rich literature devoted to the intellectual life of the two sexes, will they seek any positive and decisive indications. The majority of the investigators contradict

[1] *Précis des maladies de l'oreille* (Compendium of Diseases of the Ear).

one another, for the different environments in which they work give them different answers. After all, the researches in this province were condemned in advance to relative failure. But the inferiority of woman, even if confirmed, would not prove her organic incapacity. Her habits of study and of thought being more recent, we should be thoroughly unjust to demand from her the same qualities displayed by man, who has been inured to warfare for thousands of generations of intellectual life.

Woman, slower and more confined within the sphere of her daily occupations, will reveal in her mode of thought a stronger leaning toward concrete ideas, while man will tend more toward abstract conceptions. Professor Jastrow, in his investigations upon students of both sexes, puts forth one of these conclusions. Woman, this same scientist tells us, in comparison with man, uses fewer words. In fifty subjects submitted in an examination in this connection, the average number of words used by twenty-five women was 1,123, against 1,137 words used by the men. The facility and the rapidity of the mental perceptions were sometimes in favour of the women, sometimes in that of the men. Some authorities will say that women are more lazy than men, others will maintain the contrary.

A single statement appears to be undeniable. Little girls outstrip, intellectually, little boys and afterwards undergo a period of arrest. The system of education, the social position of woman, combined with her physiological evolution, explain this phenomenon. We know, besides, that young girls who do not interrupt their education attain, toward their twentieth year, a sort of equality with masculine students. Without desiring

to linger to point out or to discuss the facts collected, we may simply state that the results obtained do not justify any conclusion relative to the inferiority of woman.

X. A Few Undeniable Distinctions. Lastly, we return to the sexual domain in which essential differences separate woman from man. Among these primordial characteristics are menstruation, pregnancy, and lactation.

For immemorial ages, menstruation has not ceased to impress not alone the imagination of men, but also that of the women themselves. In ancient Egypt, where woman enjoyed many privileges denied her by modern society, this critical period of her life was always regarded in a manner entirely mystical. During this time they were shut up in a special place, like plague-stricken patients (G. Paturet). The loss of blood accompanying this phenomenon in woman, from the age of twelve or thirteen to that of forty-five or fifty years, often causes various disturbances, from which results a certain condition of weakness or organic lassitude that is felt to the inmost depths of her being. All physiologists are agreed upon this point: before or after this critical phase in her life, that is, before her puberty, or after the period of the menopause, when woman is relieved from this monthly complication, she is far less unlike man. Woman, Virchow states, is woman solely through the ovaries; her special nutrition and her sensibility, the specific properties of her body and her mind, the delicacy and the roundness of her limbs, in short, everything that characterises woman is found pendant upon her ovary. This remark

savours of a certain degree of exaggeration; for, as we know, women who have undergone the operation of ovariotomy do not, on that account, cease to retain certain traits of feminimity, which proves that these spring from the influence of the surrounding environment and heredity.

Yet it is beyond question that the "eternally wounded one" as we sometimes choose to call woman, draws from this sexual differentiation the majority of the characteristics which distinguish her from man. But the question which arises is this: must this natural function necessarily be accompanied by disturbances and sufferings as great as those that manifest themselves in the woman of our times? We need only turn to history and to ethnography to discover the contrary.

Dr. G. I. Engelman states that under the influence of physical exercises and a more rational life, the American woman suffers far less from this physiological periodicity than young girls or European women. The same author cites the state of invulnerability attained by the wives and daughters of acrobats: thanks to their methodical training, they do not feel the monthly occurrences which so profoundly upset other women. The same phenomenon is observed among primitive women, as well as among the women of the people, who remain almost insensible to the discomforts of this periodic evil.

Yet we should not go from one extreme into another. Athletic training, if carried too far, tends to masculinise woman. It gives her more strength, but to the detriment of her functions of maternity (Mosso). But without going to an athletic specialisation, the feminine organism can be strengthened and hardened, in order

to remove from this phase of her life its harmful influence.

The present situation of woman, in this respect, is susceptible of a considerable amelioration. We need only examine the very conscientious descriptions of the state of health of the young American girls, from the standpoint of their occupations and their system of studies, such as we are offered by Dr. Engelman.[1] Among other things, it will be seen that the percentage of women who suffer from menstruation may descend from 95 to 32 per cent. The latter figure has been given in one of the higher schools, where the young girls have been trained rationally in gymnastics and several other sports. The majority of the physicians who have had occasion to study the aptitude of woman, during this period, for work, find that as a general rule rest is not indicated (Dr. Mary Jacobi). The suffering and the incapacity for work result usually simply from the morbid condition of the woman, in whom certain organs or even the entire organism, are in a debilitated condition.

According to Mrs. Fawcett woman, as well as man, can work daily, except for the few days preceding or following her confinement.

When we think the considerable percentage of women who are greatly affected by menstruation, it is obvious that this is a factor which exerts a certain influence upon the feminine labour of our times, and which, while diminishing with the change in our mode of education, undoubtedly will continue to exert it for a long period. But we may add that this does not prevent woman from pursuing uninterrupted occupations

[1] G. I. Engelman, *Trans. Am. Gynec.*, 1900.

in many domains of human activity. Beginning with the overwhelming labour in the factories, offices, and government departments, woman in spite of her infirmities and sufferings continues to labour. And man, who has not thought of delivering her from her martyrdom, and allowing her to pass in absolute rest the critical days of her existence, would perhaps scarcely be justified in refusing her certain rights on the pretext of her temporary disability, for it is useless to say that this changes her mental and moral condition. The influences which it exerts never extend, in normal women, to the forgetfulness of their duties and the disappearance of their intellectuality. In this critical period of life, literary women, woman artists, and working women labour with more difficulty, but nevertheless they continue to work. The woman bookkeeper makes up her accounts, the woman physician attends her patients, and the woman author unravels the sentimental intrigues of her heroes and heroines. The examples of moral havoc which are complacently quoted as the result of certain inquiries, are borrowed exclusively from the lives of criminal women or prostitutes.

The Moral and Economical Advantages of Pregnancy. Hitherto too much stress has been laid upon the disadvantages of pregnancy and maternity, and not sufficient upon its advantages. Under certain conditions pregnancy and maternity impair feminine health, but in many others they strengthen and restore it. The feeble organisms of women find in them, more frequently than is believed, a recrudescence of the forces, the development of health and of beauty.

Professor Desplats emphasises with justice, that

"the fœtus is not a mere parasite joined to the mother and living through her; it is a regular guest, who lives in and with her. . . . It brings to her special stimulants, which awaken in her sleeping activities which will be the cause of her physical completion and of feelings previously unsuspected which will become her moral complement."

As an economical factor, pregnancy undeniably paralyses feminine labour. But even starting from this narrow and paltry standpoint, which neglects the primordial interests of society, we should not forget the immediate advantages that pregnancy and maternity bring to the strengthened productivity of woman. Let us note, however, that the revolution which, through pregnancy, takes place in the feminine organism, requires certain cares and a degree of comfort to double the productive result which ought to be obtained from it by society.

The condition of pregnancy also profoundly affects the body and the soul of woman. Many of our observations made upon the subject of menstruation are equally applicable to this state. Though it is a normal function in women who possess normal health, it assumes morbid forms among women who are ailing or infirm. But while this condition often reacts harmfully upon the health of woman, it frequently produces also the contrary effect. Under the influence of pregnancy and of maternity, woman becomes nobler morally, and develops physically and intellectually.

We must not forget that this question concerns an essential mission upon which depend the existence and the preservation of humanity. It is precisely on account of its sanctity and its importance, that society ought to

make every necessary sacrifice to facilitate this task of woman.

The point which chiefly engrosses our minds here is to know whether this function remains incompatible with the enlargement of the rights of the other sex. The trial made by woman in all the provinces open to her activity proves the contrary. Maternity may momentarily paralyse the accomplishment of the duties performed in the exercise of certain trades, but it does not constitute an organic impediment or an irreducible obstacle.

Maternity diminishes neither the energy, nor the intellectual faculties of woman. Nay, it acts in an undeniable manner upon the development of the virtues necessary for a proper operation of human society. It expands the feelings of altruism and kindness, the most beautiful flowers of social life. And, if the services rendered by woman as mother constitute her worthy of all the privileges and all the honours which man has annexed, the beauties of soul which she acquires in the accomplishment of this charge make at the same time this enlargement of the feminine rights desirable and beneficial for both sexes.

All women are not married, and all married women are not mothers. Admitting, therefore, that maternity prevents the accomplishment of certain social duties, why are unmarried or childless women to be excluded from these? We thus find ourselves confronted by this paradoxical necessity, which would consist in humiliating the mothers while benefitting the women who have not been able, or who have not desired, to fulfil this duty to society. In this dilemma, there is nothing to do except to concede to all women

the same rights within the same limits which are accorded to men, without asking whether the latter have any offspring, or what is the number of their children.

Whether under the guise of the eternally wounded, or of a blessed source of the renewal and continuation of the human race, woman nevertheless presents herself to our eyes with the external appearance of inferiority. While the long, almost interminable theory of the distinctions which separate her from man seem of no importance, maternity and the periodical weakness experienced by woman appear to place her far below man. This inferiority, as we have seen previously is, nevertheless, neither so irreducible nor so serious as the over zealous friends or scorners of woman would have us believe.

Yet, in the economy of the forces of the two sexes, an element exists which appears to neutralise the disadvantages of the woman. So far as we know, it has escaped any impartial investigation, for it not only remains concealed, but it is difficult to prove and especially to compare. This element is the ravages which physical love, when it exceeds certain limits—and it does exceed them more frequently than is supposed—produces in the organism of man.

XI. The Voluptuousness of Man and of Woman. Sexual emotions are less strong in woman than in man. On the other hand sexual sensibility is far more powerful in the latter than in woman. The matter almost concerns two admitted postulates, for they are verified and countersigned by sexual psycho-physiology.

Darwin points out this phenomenon through the entire animal scale. This is the reason that, among all

organised beings, the males pursue the females of their choice. The female, Hunter says, needs to be courted before yielding. A lesser degree of longing is found in the civilised, as well as in the primitive woman. The poets, the moralists, and the psychologists who write of woman are all agreed on this point.

Modern novelists, to explain certain traits of sexual profligacy in woman, resort to her idleness, the source of unwholesome curiosity, or to deviations of her inmost nature. In a hundred novels of the day, we shall find ninety in which the woman falls in consequence of the sentimental ardour displayed by the man; nine in which the woman from idleness or urged by interested motives wins the man, and scarcely one where, under the exclusive influence of her intense emotion, she seeks the man. The feeling of modesty undoubtedly has some weight, but the latter would be powerless in the presence of a physiological outbreak such as seizes upon man. Civilisation, which is supposed to have increased chastity, has also found many channels through which chastity may escape without wounding either the dignity or the self-esteem of woman.

There are exceptions—for exceptions always exist—but these only confirm the general law. The women who depart from this moderation are depraved, ill, or criminals. Our ears have been wearied by hearing of all sorts of Messalinas, precisely because they are very rare. The number of debauchés among men is so countless that they are not mentioned. People dwell only on the unusual cases which impress us by their very rarity. Michelet was right when he wrote that it is foolish vanity in man to believe "that woman

yields to him, conquered by love. Whoever knows women is well aware that nearly all of them are influenced solely by compliance and kindness."

Hysterical women seem, apparently, to contradict this statement. But here the matter concerns chiefly morbid cases, and for that very reason these are exceptional. Moreover hysteria would chiefly prove absence of control of the superior centres which rule the sexual instincts (Clouston). Usually the manifestation of a more intense sensuality in woman, or the phenomena of her erotism, coincides with the appearance in her of criminal instincts. In Messalina or Agrippina, the excessive life of the senses has been mingled with considerable ferocity. Both belonged to the type of born-criminals. In all the women of this category, according to the numerous examples cited by Lombroso and Ferrero, the life of the passions even begins to show itself at an age preceding puberty. Their social life commences with a dawn of sensuality; they have a stronger inclination toward man, and a more intense curiosity than other women. For the same reason they accommodate themselves more easily to polygamy. We can remember the sentimental tempest which roared through the Scandinavian countries when Björnstjerne Björnson preached chastity for young men which, according to him, should be equal to that of young girls. No one, outside of Norway, would take his propaganda seriously, because it was believed to be devoid of any real possibility. The Norwegians themselves were satisfied with applauding the doctrine, without applying any of its commands in life. Man, having yielded to his own passions, does not cease to censure those of woman. Nature itself has subdued

them in his companion. We often err by mistaking woman's need of tenderness for sensual emotions. We deceive ourselves equally when we make no distinction between the latter, and her invincible need of maternity. When in consequence of the changes which have occurred in her life, woman finds herself absorbed by her profession, she often definitely renounces love. Certain emancipated English women, the *spinsters*, known under the name of the "third sex," having renounced maternity cheerfully dispense with sexual life.

The far slighter part played by sensual love in woman has a considerable influence upon her moral and intellectual worth. In the first place, we may note that love wears upon her far less than it does upon man. This is the reason that senility has fewer victims in her sex. We need only consider, in this respect, the cases of senile decadence in men and in women who have passed the age of sixty years. This is still more evident in comparing the serenity of woman before and after the period of the menopause, with the quasi-vitality that manifests itself in men beyond sixty years, in which we may easily perceive the various ravages caused in the so-called stronger sex by this condition. The prematurely aged brain, united with physical exhaustion offer us frequent types of organic usury. For intelligence declines at the same time that the vitality of the body diminishes. The vulgar, yet so expressive word "imbecile" applies chiefly, if not exclusively to the masculine sex.

The matter in question is neither to glorify nor to censure woman, but to point out a concrete fact. The most impressive and most decisive act of life appears to

react less upon her body, as it produces less effect upon her soul.

To grasp the range of this point, we may pause at the far greater resistance of the feminine organism to pleasure. Examples borrowed from the love-life of the two sexes could abundantly illustrate this argument, but we must not insist upon this consideration too strongly. Yet, as the latter presents a point of special importance in the establishment of the final balance of the sexes, it would be base not to introduce it into the account. Let us follow, in some degree, the example of Saint Paul. The holy man requires that under no one of its thousand names must this love-life be spoken of among the faithful. Nevertheless, the apostle himself mentions the subject. We may copy this illustrious example and use in our developments all the hypocrisy and all the modesty indulged in by the condescension of modern moralists.

1.—*Unequal Resistance.* The fact is admitted that man is not only more addicted to the sensual pleasures, but that the latter hold him more firmly under their sway. Man suffers more from their excess, and offers to them a slighter resistance. Very frequently his intelligence and the traits of his character are injured. The earlier mental fatigue which results, as well as the withdrawal from active life, and a degeneracy more or less marked, are the visible effects of this sentimental peculiarity which constitutes a distinctive trait of man.

The same phenomenon is produced throughout almost the entire organic scale. From the male rotifer, so small that it can scarcely be seen through the microscope, which expires in a tragical way in the presence of

the female, passing through the spiders, which are murdered after having fecundated their companions, and ending with man, we see the masculine participation in the birth of life very often requited by suffering, exhaustion, or death.

What the biologist Goette has said of all organised beings is especially true when applied to males; it is not death which renders reproduction necessary, it is reproduction which has as an inevitable consequence, death. But as death snatches life from us in fragments, its work often remains invisible. It attacks thus fiercely the man who scatters life with reckless and immoderate passion.

The point in question is real prodigality. Is this, like the suffering and partial death which accompany it, inevitable and necessary? It seems scarcely probable. We may confine ourselves to giving proof of it for the time, and draw these mournful and sickening conclusions.

2.—The Decline of Man. The sudden decline manifested by so many eminent men who start forth young and brilliant like suns, and soon disappear in the unutterable melancholy of extinct genius and mental faculties disordered, diminished, or forever vanished in a debauchery of the senses, is due chiefly to the greater sexual impressionability of man. How many poets, artists, statesmen, even moralists, have been victims of this unequal resistance of the two sexes to the emotions of love. When, by a miracle of will, man escapes the peril lying in wait for him in his youth or in his maturity, a few false steps later in life are sufficient to precipitate his physical and intellectual ruin.

Even after man has passed his sixtieth year, it is difficult for him to repel or to destroy these vague and disturbing sources of sensual emotions. Everything urges him toward the garden of voluptuousness, whose vague appeals weaken, rouse, and finally conquer the instinct of preservation which bars their way. When his ears, charmed by forgotten murmurs, are captivated once more by the tardy symphony of love that penetrates his entire being, his mental faculties, startled by the unfamiliar guest, hastily disappear, never to return, and at the same time he is abandoned by his physical powers. The miserable toy of passions which devastate his personality, we see him going to wreck, wretched and pitiable.

The ancient Romans already spoke of sadness as the other side of passion. The infinite melancholy that follows its outbreaks, produces an immoderate thirst for destructive pleasure. In these strange attacks of intoxication the best men find death in their ideal. "Non-existence attracts them. Discouragement and disgust for life fill their souls. Great and true love soaring toward the heights and living upon the summits of the moral and sentimental kingdom, withdraws, repelled by all the surroundings. This is the reason that the poets and novelists who sow pessimism with lavish hands are usually merely disappointed victims of sensual love. Almost always, in the depths of their distress, exhaustion is crying out to them the uselessness of the conflict of life.

The evil of the century, the evil of many centuries, nihilism, nearly all nihilisms, passing from emotionalism to thought, have their invisible throne in this formidable and unexplored abyss. Until a new sexual education

has succeeded in balancing and purifying the passion of man, he will continue to be the slayer of the gods and "to sully this miserable world with tainted blood and influence foul."[1]

We know how some of the higher mammalia are reproduced. In the wild state they experience the sexual instinct only at a certain season of the year; then they return to their normal condition. The satisfaction of their instincts is subservient to conditions of food, and is so calculated that the birth coincides with the seasons when the food supply for the young is abundant and easily obtained.

All those who charge to the account of nature the outbreaks of our senses ought to reflect upon this other example. When love carols its intoxicating song to the ants, the latter, aided by their wings, rise into the air. The buzzing couples unite. When the celestial flight is over, the ants descend to the earth, where with their front claws they tear off the little wings. The time for loving is over. Serious life with all its exigencies begins again, and the little world joyously obeys its summons.

3.—The Abuses of the Sexual Instinct. Certain palæontologists assert that man himself, in the very remote ages, possessed a limited faculty of reproduction. This seems to me extremely probable. The discovery of fire and the domestic implements would have permitted our ancestors of the age of polished stone to cease reckoning with the inclemency of the season and the difficulty of feeding their offspring. The liberated sexual instincts were consequently exercised on a far

[1] Leconte de Lisle. *Poèmes antiques.*

wider scale to the detriment of the vitality of the other functions. Biological laws were conquered and swept away by social discoveries.

We speak of organic necessities. But these are often artificial. Just as by dint of whetting our appetite, we eat two or three times as much as is necessary, we allow ourselves, thanks to the excitements the whole course of modern life procures for us, to be exhausted by sensuality. Dominated by the importance of our sexual life, we desire to subordinate to it everything else, for without this, we are told with truth, the human race would have ceased to exist.

But neither would it exist if we ceased to drink, to eat, or to work with our muscles or our brains. Let us distrust our tendency to exaggeration. The hairs, it seems, formerly served as organs of feeling. And the naturalists, even the most eminent, strongly impressed by this statement, have ended by believing that all the organs of the sexes were only perfected hairs.

M. Edmond Perrier relates the pretty anecdote that de Blainville often astonished his audience by uttering this exclamation: "The eye, gentlemen, is only a hair."

It is always an error to attempt to refer our life to a single organ and the multiplicity of our needs to a single want, especially when the latter is acting in a disordered manner.

I shall carefully avoid seeking to steal the secret of future ages. But who knows whether, in a few hundred years, our reformed life will not render man more chaste? At any rate, he will be so up to the age of complete maturity, when he will know how to shield himself from the unwholesome factors which prematurely arouse his sensibility.

The day on which the youth can be made to see, behind the pleasures that allure him, the whole range of the poisons which accompany them, he will incline, from reflection or alarm, toward the side of duty.

4.—The Education of Voluptuousness. The satisfaction granted to artificial appeals produce fresh ones which become more and more authoritative. To stifle their tumultuous voice is often sufficient to reduce it to silence.

Let us quiet troubled minds. When calmed, this voice is not hushed and does not become weakened. All physiologists teach this doctrine. It appears afterward at the time required by reason, health, and the interests of the species. Thus the education of voluptuousness will render it more worthy of both man and woman. For with the purified man, who is enjoying greater and greater brain power, will correspond the woman who is differently loved, broadened, and ennobled. With the aid of heredity, this time the primordial elements of our being, the spermatozoön and the ovule will be reached—the human race will awake perfected and better.

This melancholy of voluptuousness passes almost unseen by the bards of love. Yet men suffer from it at the first awakening of their sensual life. Weakened by the debauchery, the immoderation, and the lack of comprehension of the father, the sexual instinct of the sons acts irregularly from birth. How many geniuses are dead before having lived! How many great minds, irremediably destroyed by misguided voluptuousness, are cut down before having expended for the human race one tenth of the treasures of their knowledge!

In one of those sobs of the poets that give utterance to the suppressed tears of the ages, Sainte-Beuve hurls forth this heart-rending cry of a soul terrified by the extent of human disasters.

"Who shall say how in a great city, at certain hours of the evening and the night, there are periodically exhausted treasures of genius, of beautiful and beneficent works, of fruitful fancies? One in whom, under rigid continence, a sublime creation of mind was about to unfold, will miss the hour, the passage of the star, the kindling moment which will never more be found. Another inclined by nature to kindness, to charity, and to a charming tenderness, will become cowardly, inert, or even unfeeling. This character, which was almost fixed, will be dissipated and volatile."

The greatness of the man thus often disappears under the deformity of his unbridled passions. He might have been really sublime, if he were not small in the presence of the imperious voice of voluptuousness by which he is trampled upon and crushed. Listen to the lyrical explosions of all the ages, and beneath the outburst of so much suffering, we shall perceive a very trivial cause which, concealed behind the mountains of ruins and sorrows, is scarcely visible. It is the greater sensibility of man to voluptuousness. Like the tiny, almost imperceptible speck which gradually attacks a magnificent specimen of fruit and destroys its aspect of beauty, this little physiological trifle, the slight resistance to love, forces man to descend from the heights of sublime ideas and acts to exist only in the dust of the earth. The divine sparks which have thus vanished, as well as those which have never succeeded in taking

the heavenward way, would suffice, doubtless, to enlighten eternally the human race.

5.—The Return of the Passions. Shall we never succeed in making the beneficent flame within us remain in the boundaries where it appears to be enclosed by our higher interests? This enigma is associated with one of the most serious problems of the sexual education of the future. The question is not merely to conquer our false passions or the appetites for immoderate pleasures. There is something still more disturbing: nature herself often seems to take part against our physiological and moral interests. Chastity is rarely the result of our will. We sometimes succeed for years in lulling its voice. And when we believe it lifeless, peaceful, and serene beneath a lid forever closed, it suddenly awakes, aided by a revolt of the senses which ravages the entire organism. At their desperate appeal, the old man himself feels stirred to the inmost depths of his consciousness. Trembling, vanquished, he hastens to respond. His heart begins to throb. The final farewell which he has taken of his restless past is forgotten in an intoxication of his overexcited senses. He begins to climb again the hill which he has descended with infinite ease. In proportion as he advances toward the past, all the virtues of his character are jeopardised as well as those of his conscience, which crumble away in vague and confused sensations.

We will not dwell upon the physiological distresses which in a body confront the dying will. Terrible and threatening before the victory, they ruin more speedily

than would be expected, the conquered organism. Lastly, what is to be said of the younger man? The passion muttering throughout his entire being does not even permit him to struggle. Thus sensuality assails man at all ages; and diminishes his mental power, weakens his moral tendencies, and from the rank of demi-god degrades him to that of a poor human being worthy of great commiseration, but also worthy of being loved sorrowfully and humanely.

This eternal conflict is magnificent in its tragical, formidable, and implacable aspect. In spite of and against all obstacles, man has mounted very high. But possibly he might already be very near heaven, if it were not for this great weakness which binds him to earth.

Then why should we upbraid woman for her inferiority?

6.—Feminine Compensations. Thus we discover in the sexual balance one important factor which, so far as we know, has never been pointed out. Bring it into the reckoning and instantly we shall see these fathomless mysteries enlightened by an unexpected radiance which, suddenly bursting forth, dispels the frightful darkness. Does not this inequality of the effect of physiological love upon the two sexes suggest a sort of compensation devised by mother nature?

Woman, the victim of the suffering caused by her two painful physiological functions, raises her head and shows herself in this respect, superior to her companion. All that she may lose visibly through maternity and her monthly humiliation, she regains by remaining almost free from the cruel ravages which the hidden wounds of voluptuousness inflict upon man.

Conclusion. The observations collected by so many different sciences may be partially false or true, but their flagrant contradictions appear at every point. The woman is sometimes inferior, sometimes superior to man. If in one province she lacks qualities regarded as superior, in the neighbouring one she surpasses her companion.

The result based upon quantities imponderable and often impossible to compare, can be only arbitrary. As, until the present time, it is man who has undertaken to make the additions and to draw the conclusions, he has been eager to declare his own sex superior to the other. On the day that woman, in her turn, enters the lists, she will be instinctively impelled to proclaim the contrary. Her position will then be equal to that of the man of our times.

Cyrano de Bergerac relates this pretty dialogue between the birds.

"Our soul is immortal," says a sparrow sententiously.

"That question does not permit the slightest doubt," replies another bird. "But how is it possible that beings who have neither feathers, nor wings, and who walk awkwardly on two feet, surmounted by an ugly, deformed body, can also say that they have an imperishable soul?"

Does not man resemble this presumptuous sparrow? He cannot or will not understand that the being who wears long hair and possesses a more developed adipose system, may have the same virtues, the same mental faculties, and the same equally base or equally divine soul.

But let us try a contrary test. In the impossibility of harmonising the various truths which are derived

from so many sciences, let us borrow from their synthesis one primordial fact, which may illumine our way and show us the only straight path at whose end is concealed the clue to the enigma.

The unquestionable goal of all instruction, as well as of every scientific discovery, is progress. We cannot imagine a naturalist, a moralist, or a sociologist working outside of its cares or its interests. Even the most hardened metaphysician pursues his speculations only in the hope of the advancement of truth. But what is so-called progress? Of what does it consist? How is it to be measured? Among so many definitions, perhaps that of Ostwald alone sums up in a concrete fashion the object of the conscious and unconscious uneasiness of so many human minds and wills.[1]

The principle of life upon our planet is reduced to the transformation of the radiating and free energy which comes to us from the sun into chemical energy. It is beyond question that we are utilising only a very small portion of the treasure of solar energy. The plants chiefly concentrate and gather it within them, not only for their own needs, but also for the profit of other organised beings.

Observations demonstrate that a single leaf of a plant transforms into chemical energy only one *fiftieth* of the radiant energy. But a large portion of the terrestrial globe is not cultivated and, what is still more important, the harvest of solar energy ceases in the winter. This is what discloses to us limitless horizons

[1] The most popular one, that of Herbert Spencer, which refers progress to the passage from the simple to the composite, to the evolution from the homogeneous into the heterogeneous, indicates rather the march of things, but gives neither its signification nor its goal.

for the activity of man in the future. We have found at the same time an objective criterion of progress!

An organism will be more advanced in the degree in which it appropriates the solar energy with the most facility and the least loss.

The degree of perfection of an organism will reveal itself in a sufficiently exact manner by the action and the degree of the evolution of its organs and of its senses. The progress of an organism expresses itself in its facility of appropriating solar energy. The more an organism is perfected, the more readily it will receive smaller and smaller quantities.

Now, with regard to this, has man succeeded in distancing woman? It would be absurd to seek to assert it. Both enjoy at the present time, the same *faculty of perceiving* and *utilising* the solar energy. For her, as well as for him, civilisation and progress are expressed in attaining the same goal.

The future of both sexes is riveted to the same trunk. Their primordial cares, enclosed within the same boundaries and occasioned by the same causes, are resolved into identical formulas. Their mutual labour is imposed upon it, and if divided or contradictory, it can only make their efforts fragmentary and endanger the results.

Without differentiation from the standpoint of the formation, of the conquest, and of the application of the energy, united by its gains and by its losses, man and woman have every interest in appropriating it in common.

The democratisation of modern society, which is operating upon a mondial scale, flows from the same source in which, imperceptibly, arises the equality of the two sexes.

In attempting to refer sexual controversies to the most general and the most abstract law of progress, it seems to me that we have not only found an indication of the equality, but also of the necessary harmony between man and woman. For the economy resulting from their labour in common, based upon principles of justice and mutual esteem, will render progress closer at hand, more comprehensive, and more easy.

The more general a law is, the larger surface it presents to criticism, and the law of progress, applied to the evolution of the sexes, is free neither from flaws, nor from weaknesses. But the value of hypotheses, as well as of human beings, is judged chiefly from their virtues and not from their failings. And, as this law answers our doubts and dispels our fears, it can only be welcome.

After all, even though defective, a hypothesis always possesses some worth through the facilities it furnishes our judgment. The law of progress, as I am striving to apply it to sexual evolution, simply confirms the benefits and the necessity of harmony between the sexes, based upon their equality.

This is superabundantly proved by all the facts co-ordinated above, as well as those developed elsewhere, even outside of this supplementary hypothesis. Whether well founded or not, it will be of some service, and its error, if ever demonstrated, cannot destroy our general argument which is triumphant in so many other directions.

C—The Psychology of Woman.

Studies devoted to woman are almost always characterised by the same defect. Having been made slapdash from transient models, they pretend to present to

us the truth concerning woman, while the matter in hand deals only with varieties of woman. Her essential and eternal type entirely escapes us. The incarnations of the goddess are not the goddess herself. Everything that constitutes her intrinsic value and her immutable qualities is misunderstood. While adapting herself to the conditions of the surrounding environment, woman receives the imprint of the circumstances through which she lives or perishes. But those who pretend to study her, incorrectly identify her principal virtues and merits with those of which she gives proof under certain conditions. Upon seeing her timid and cowardly, devout or small-minded, feeble or sickly, cunning or hypocritical, her psychologists declare that woman is thus constituted. They even condemn her to continue in the same state until the last man shall disappear from the earth. Successive generations accept the portraits of their ancestresses for those of the women of their own times. Although life has changed and indeed never ceases to change around us, we persist in censuring or admiring in woman her prototype, which has been modified or dead for ages. Far from the life of labour and the life of thought, reduced to the part of a child devoted to obedience, woman frequently made her own the qualities which we like to inculcate in children. Times have changed, and women also. It is only the psychologists who have not altered. They laud with the same assurance the childish virtues of women, their compliance with the will of men, their lack of initiative, their excessive impressionability, as if woman still continued to remain exclusively the guardian or the slave of the fireside. . . .

The age-long torpor of her soul is dissipated, and also the profound slumber of her mind. The tempest which has muttered and is muttering everywhere has forced her into action. Huge terrifying waves are dashing heavily against her abode. Driven outside of it, woman has left in the ancient dwelling her old-time qualities and, in the conflict with the unchained elements, has acquired many virtues that formerly were foreign to her nature. . . . Woman has changed. She is not, above all, the being whom her enthusiastic admirers were wont to elevate to heaven or her scorners to hurl into Hades. . . .

I. The Psychology of the Two Cells. This is the whole question: are there psychological qualities peculiar to woman, and if so, what are these qualities? What distinguishes, and will distinguish, woman from man, in spite of the conditions of her life? Inseparable from her sex, these qualities must accompany her everywhere and remain independent of her economic or social position.

The biologists have already told us that they are proved by the essential differences which separate the two cells whose union creates the living being. The psychologists will easily derive from these distinctions the support necessary to bolster up their preconceived dogmas. Woman through her entire physiological structure, as well as in her psychological qualities, will manifest especially this need of conservation; a predominance of nutrition without, a peace of mind within. She will long for the calmness and repose to which the special development of her tissues destine her. The roundness of her body, her abundantly developed

adipose system, the form of her pelvis and of her hips, in short, the "dead weight" which her organism shows, render her sedentary and domestic. The contrary qualities will characterise man. He will be more agile and ready to act. Stalwart and enterprising by nature, his body, unencumbered by the things which weigh down woman, will permit him to be more active and energetic. Everything will tend to drive him away from his fireside, everything will urge upon him the necessity of war and of conquest. Woman, thanks to her special structure, will incarnate organic saving; man will expend the forces that woman by the channel of heredity will bequeath to him. By standing guard over his home, she will also make it easier for him to run off and devote himself to all sorts of pranks.

The reasoning of the biologists and of the psychologists is, we observe, analogous. From their observation of the differences of the two cells that produce life these investigators not only derive all the qualities of woman but seek justification for the part she has played through history. It is man's nature to be pugnacious and warlike, and to have an energetic, explosive, impatient temper; it is woman's inclination to be gentle, patient, domestic. While he will engage in all sorts of physical and mental adventures to which his disposition prompts him, and will have an obvious tendency toward novelty and change, she, the guardian of the home, will be conservative both through taste and temperament. She will follow the natural tendencies of her body, which will impel her toward the safekeeping of the acquired qualities and ideas. Shut up within her dwelling, she will spend her days in arranging all the petty details of life. Her pusillanimous mind

will become more concrete than that of man. She will lose herself in details and he will be captivated by abstractions. And, as she is strongly attached to the past, she will not like the criticism which tends toward its destruction. Man will create revolutions; woman will strive to calm them and to lessen their violent effects. As religion seeks especially to secure peace of mind, and preaches a passive reconciliation with fate, woman will be devout. She will be the more inclined to religion because the patience necessary to await salvation in an indeterminate future is dictated to her by her mode of thought and life. She will be guilty also of fewer penal offences than man, for crime requires a larger expenditure of energy and an emancipation from routine. Lacking ideas, woman will become the prey of her feelings. War, science, and the higher forms of art will be to her an unknown realm. Genius and originality will shun her abode. Condemned to mediocrity of ideas and of life, she will drag out her existence, limiting herself to the enjoyment of the intellectual treasures which man will create and rendering obedience to the laws which he will establish in his own favour.

II. The Woman Warrior. While using circumlocutions more or less profound, dwelling upon arguments more or less eloquent, following paths more or less broad, almost all the official psychologists of woman arrive at the same conclusions. Woman, they tell us, is condemned by imperious and immutable biological laws to be and to remain in the future what she is at the present day. But are all the psychological qualities of woman really in the ovule? Is this really

the resting-place of the virtues which will become the joy or the horror of man?

The interpretation given to the appearance of the ovule is erroneous, as we have seen, from the biological standpoint, and this interpretation is no less so when the point in question is to establish sexual psychology. Here also we find premises wholly arbitrary, whose falsity and unreliable character are revealed when the supreme proof is applied, the proof of life.

The sexual evolution of man only repeats in a higher degree that of animal life. By taking a survey of the different stages of sexual manifestation in the world of insects, of birds, and of mammalia, we shall be in a better position to understand the errors committed by the psychologists of woman.

Let us descend from these generalities about sexual matters and take, as the basis of our reasoning, one concrete quality of woman upon which almost all the psychologists appear to agree. This is the question of her moral and physiological unfitness to participate actively in war. Even at the present time, when the matter of granting her the vote is under consideration, her inability to defend her native land is put forward as a ground for refusing her this right. But it is only necessary to trace impartially the evolution of woman to become convinced that this is merely a transitory peculiarity, produced by special circumstances which have nothing to do with the changeless qualities of woman.

For instance, the women of Abyssinia often fight beside their husbands. They ride on camels or horses, and carry the same weapons as the men. Their courage is exemplary and their resistance to fatigue is perfectly

astonishing. Travellers explain the warlike virtues of the women of this country very simply as the result of education. Being accustomed from childhood to share in martial exercises, they adapt themselves to these requirements as easily as do their brothers, husbands, or sons. On the other hand, the martial training has left a special imprint upon the Abyssinian woman—she has become as cruel as certain masculine warriors. The same phenomenon has been observed in certain Bedouin tribes, as well as among the Arabs.[1]

According to Tacitus, the ancient Britons, when going to war, always had women in the van of their armies. Mommsen mentions a similar case among the ancient Iberians. The women of these tribes advanced bravely to the attack of the fortresses and were often slain in a body.

A similar condition apparently, obtains among the American Amazons. The wives of the Guarani Indians, dwellers on the banks of the great Amazon River, take part, according to the testimony of certain travellers, in the wars that are waged and in the anthropophagous banquets which follow.[1] This is what is said of them by Father d'Acunha, a Spanish historian, who bases his statement upon native tales collected in these regions:

The Amazons live on lofty mountains, among which rises the one named Yacamiaba, ever beaten by winds and tempests. The warrior women maintain themselves, unaided by the men, upon these steep heights. . . . They

[1] See on this subject, *Les Bedouins* (The Bedouins), by Mayeux; the poem *Aventures d'Antar* (Adventures of Antar); *l'Arabie* (Arabia); par Jomard, etc.

[1] C. Letourneau, *La condition de la femme* (The condition of Women).

regulate the time during which the Guacaras are permitted to visit them. . . . After a few days of cohabitation, their periodic guests return to their own country. Every year, at the same season, the journey is repeated. The daughters born from this intercourse are reared by their mothers, who instruct them especially in labour and in the handling of weapons. What they do with the male children is not known. According to the evidence of some, the women give them to the fathers. Others, and this is more probable, believe that the male children are killed at the moment of their birth. . . [1]

Several other travellers mention women warriors, such as the Moriquitas, the Guay-Muras, etc.

W. Irving cites cases still more convincing. According to him, Columbus noticed that the women of the Antilles, who were subjected to a rigid military organisation, had become the equals of men in the use of weapons. In one of his encounters with the aborigines, the army of Columbus suffered heavily from the Indian Amazons, who fought very bravely beside their husbands.[2] In South America numerous legends tend to support the same belief respecting the existence at one period of women warriors.

Stanley has observed similar instances in a time nearer our own day. In the kingdom of Uganda at the court of King M' Tesa, there was a guard of Amazons who used long lances. Among the African Vuatutas the women not only accompanied the men during the battles, but also, according to Burton, took an active share in the fighting.

Lastly, what is to be said of the famous Amazons of

[1] A. de Beauchamp, *Histoire de Brésil* (History of Brazil).

[2] *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.*

Dahomey? The feminine army was divided into two portions—the active force, composed of about three thousand women enrolled almost haphazard, and a reserve called out in cases of emergency.[1] The young girls were subjected to the most severe military training. They were even accustomed to endure patiently thirst, hunger, and other privations, and were expected to show themselves insensible to pain. The Amazons of Dahomey were distinguished for their courage and their muscular strength. In the midst of battle they cast at their companions who, overcome by fear or fatigue, seemed to wish to fly from the conflict, the insult: "You are only a man!" A curious fact is that they ended by acquiring all the qualities, as well as the faults, which frequently characterise professional soldiers. Tafia, the brandy of the country, has become their dominant weakness, and they were as harsh and cruel to their inferiors and to enemies as were the recruits levied among the men. Moreover, the severe discipline had the same effect upon the women as it had upon the other sex. In obedience to an order from the king they accomplished marvellous deeds of prowess. The superior of a Catholic mission, established at Whydah, was present in 1861 at a spectacle which filled him with mingled wonder and admiration. Stimulated by the presence of their sovereign, the Amazons succeeded in leaping over barricades two metres high, and six in width. A still more incredible fact is that these barricades were made of plants that had terrible thorns. The women were also obliged to rush over slopes several metres long, composed of the same plants, whose pricks are very painful. The bare limbs and feet of

[1] Laffitte, *Le Dahomey* (Dahomey).

the women warriors were bleeding freely, yet, stoical in the presence of pain, they continued by the order of the king the attacks upon improvised fortifications. But here is the missionary's account:

"The Amazon who took the first prize had begun by falling from a height of five metres. At the moment she seemed discouraged and, wringing her hands in despair, remained seated. A look and a shout from the king electrified her, and urged her again to the attack. At the conclusion of the drill, the limbs of all the women were lacerated and bleeding. . . ."

The past history of France furnishes numerous examples of women warriors. Their heroism was on a level with their endurance. We may recall by the side of Jeanne d'Arc and Jeanne Hachette the two Comtesses de Montfort. Voltaire describes one of the comtesses as a woman who was as brave as a man, riding astride and managing her steed as well as any horseman, fighting with the same boldness on land and sea; holding her own in two attacks upon the breach at Hennebon, armed from head to foot, then rushing upon the hostile camp, setting it on fire and thereby reducing it to ashes. The other Mme. de Montfort, the wife of the cruel persecutor of the Albigenses, raised an army, marched with it through France, and fought beside her husband. Mlle. de la Charce, toward the end of the seventeenth century, put herself at the head of the people of Dauphiny and fought victoriously against the men of the Vaude. Mlle. Genevieve Fremoy was several times wounded, and in 1688 was appointed a lieutenant in the regiment of Schomberg, under the name of Chevalier Balthazar.

The warlike ardour which inspired the women of the

Revolution has given to us not only examples of burning feminine eloquence, but also some really marvellous military exploits.

Olympe de Gouges, Théroigne de Méricourt, Pauline Léon, and many others urged at that period the need of mobilising armies of Amazons. Pauline Léon, one of the future presidents of the *Club des femmes révolutionnaires* (Club of Revolutionary Women), had even formally requested the *Assemblée nationale* (National Assembly) on March 6, 1792, in the name of three hundred women, to grant the applicants the right to obtain arms and to meet every Sunday for the purpose of drilling themselves in the management of weapons under the direction of the ex-French guards appointed by the Assembly.

And the president answered: "The whole nation applauds the sentiment which leads you to this place." But, with much diplomacy, he diverted them from their idea "of interfering with the order of nature."

A warlike mania then took possession of the women. While some wanted to rush to the frontier, others desired to become Amazons of the queen.

The dames of Bellona publicly recited this prayer: "Goddess of strength and courage, thou shalt have no cause to blush for French women. Women must keep step with men." Petitions from women who wished to die for their native land flowed in from all directions. The petition of Manesse Dupont (1793) is especially interesting because it describes the departure for the frontier of nine hundred Amazons who, disguised as men, had enlisted. She urges the necessity of raising an army corps of ten thousand women or girls to be recruited in the department of Paris.

Everything had been anticipated by the noblewoman, who promised to make the recruits swear to "renounce the allurements of love until their fellow-citizens had brought back laurels of fame." The uniform was to consist of a white jacket with breeches, a brass helmet adorned with an aigrette and a plume, and trunk-hose cut in the Portuguese fashion.

In the provinces, matters even took a serious turn.[1] National Amazons sprang up everywhere. Not content with intoxicating themselves with words, they demanded active service. Received sometimes with enthusiasm, sometimes with sarcasm and jeers, thousands of women succeeded in taking part in many expeditions and battles. Among the numerous legions of Amazons was the one which had as its colonel Mme. Feurier, and the one commanded by Captain Daru. Women even headed legions of men. Mme. de Moulins (Seine et Oise) in the absence of her nephew, an aristocrat, "who refused to command the national guard," offered herself in his place and was accepted with enthusiasm.

The women of Versailles came to the National Assembly (August, 1792) to declare that, if armed and formed into companies, they would fell the tyrants "under the iron of their pikes." They also vowed that they would soon rejoin "the beloved shades of their native land."

In Bordeaux a battalion of four thousand women were sworn in on July 14th and had their flag blessed by the bishop.

[1] See the *Archives nationales*, Lasserre, *Participation collective des femmes á la Révolution* (Collective Participation of Women in the Revolution); Baron M. de Villiers, *Histoire des clubs de femmes*, etc. (History of Women's Clubs).

The numerous legions of Amazons, except perhaps that of the Ville de l'Isle (Vaucluse) which defended itself bravely against the troops of the Convention, did not have the opportunity to show their collective valour. But several individual Amazons distinguished themselves by their courage and commanded the admiration of the men. One of these was the citizeness Barreau, a grenadier who distinguished herself in an attack upon a chapel defended by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Bayonne. With the grandiloquence bordering upon absurdity so characteristic of the majority of the representatives of the people, Citizen Monatier, in delivering a reward of three hundred livres to the woman grenadier, said: "She can justly make us forget that Maid whose name has been transmitted to us in association with her base love of kings. . . . "

At the time of the last Polish insurrection, in 1863, women in the higher classes of society, disguised as men, fought by the side of their brothers or their husbands. Their deeds of courage and heroism were as numerous as they were astonishing. One of them, Mlle. Postavoïtow succeeded in creating around herself enough legends of bravery to make several men famous. In the patriotic songs of the period she is represented as a formidable leader whose mere name put to flight the enemies of her native land.

The hunting of wild beasts calls for qualities similar to those evinced in war. Courage, endurance, a certain degree of muscular strength, are as necessary in fighting certain animals as in conquering human beings. But in many countries women take part in these dangerous sports in precisely the same manner as do the men. The women of Chinese Tartary not only

used to, but still accompany their husbands upon long, perilous, and toilsome hunting expeditions. Polish and Russian women often went with their husbands when the latter chased bears, wolves, and wild boars.

These numerous examples are sufficient to prove that woman is not, either morally or organically, unfit for war. Then what becomes of the dogmatic psychology which denies her this capacity? One fact is certain, that the military profession is not compatible with the functions of maternity. This condition has its importance in the distribution of sexual honours. Woman, having the ability like man to be a soldier, deserves to be honoured so much the more for having renounced a profession which is not devoid of charms, in order to devote herself to the primordial duty of peopling her native land and of perpetuating the human race. The theory according to which woman, because of her alleged unfitness for military service, ought also to resign the honour of governing her country on terms of equality with man, is thus destroyed as at once anti-scientific and unjust. We may add that modern warfare, in which initiative, presence of mind, courage, and other moral conditions are far more necessary than unsupported brute force, gives a better opportunity for the exercise of the qualities peculiar to woman. Consequently woman, by the same right as man, might contribute to the defence of her native land, if other duties, no less imperious and important, did not compel her to give preference to her part of mother and guardian of the fireside.

Woman, in sacrificing herself to the essential interests of her native land and of the species, cannot for that reason be placed in a state of inferiority as compared

with man. It is true that all women are not wives and mothers, but neither are all men fathers and soldiers.

III. Impressionability in the Two Sexes. Thousands of volumes have been devoted to feminine psychology. Pages bearing the stamp of genius, or merely of ingenuity, have been written, sometimes infused with a very great sympathy for the "eternal martyr," sometimes with scorn or violent hatred for the "age-long enemy of man." The authors of all these works in almost every instance forget that they are depicting only the woman of one or of several epochs without giving us the woman of the present or of the future.

Certain writers also censure her, while others regard it as a merit, because she is more affectionate than man. She is also said to be more sensitive. These two sides of the question deserve to be examined more closely. Let us begin with a consideration of her capacity for affection. According to Auguste Comte, the feminine sex is also pre-eminently the affectionate sex. Physical excitements provoke reflexes more easily and more strongly in woman. This phenomenon is generally admitted. In these later days, the invention of a number of machines, among which those of Angelo Mosso are the best known, scientifically confirm this superiority or inferiority of woman.

Woman's greater emotionalism bursts forth under all circumstances. She blushes and weeps, she becomes angry or is shocked, she has spasms or convulsions, attacks of destructive madness or of intense melancholy, far more easily than man. And, as epilepsy is due principally to physical causes such as anxiety, excitement, or fear, woman would be, consequently,

more subject to these fits than is man. According to Esquirol, the proportion of the two sexes that falls a victim to epilepsy is almost a third larger for woman. Perhaps it is also for the same reason that woman appears more given to pity as well as more cruel than man, her emotionalism overflowing in both directions. A comparison of the bustling life of man with the more pacific life lived by woman is enough to furnish an explanation of the latter's greater emotionalism. Man, being more exposed to the vicissitudes of fate, would feel its blows less. The greater wealth of the sensations which his active life brings to him, also prevents his falling under their exclusive domination. Just as clouds drive away other clouds, the joys and the sufferings of man, succeeding each other. with the rapidity which his kind of work and the variety of his pleasures lend them, prevent him from feeling their action too easily and too profoundly.

Let a man dwell constantly upon some annoyance of fate, and he will become the victim of an obsession. It will react upon his sensibility and give him an attack of morbid excitability.

Women, less deadened by emotions, are more easily affected by the facts or sensations which come to them from without. When emotions have once entered their consciousness, they strike root more firmly because nothing occurs to dislodge them. This is the reason why kindness or hate, cruelty or gentleness, the good or the evil dispositions of the soul, can attain a greater development in woman than in man.

Can woman love or hate more strongly than man? The question is both idle and insoluble! It is only necessary to observe without prejudice the emotional life

of the two sexes to discover that a greater capacity for loving or for hating may manifest itself now in a man, now in a woman. If, in general, women appear to be more affectionate, it is because they are predisposed to this by their manner of life. Man may love or hate as strongly, but on the condition that he remains under the domination of the same feelings. Let him, through his activity, escape their impression and he will be subjected less to their influence. Everything depends, not upon the sexes, but upon the individuals who represent them.

It is true that Art, as well as popular tradition, expresses all the lofty feelings under the form of women. This is a simple confirmation of the facts existing in a social order whose evolution is taking place under certain conditions.

The life of the affections, which has become to man in some degree the dessert of his existence, is often life itself to woman. But is this saying that man does not feel emotions as frequently or with the same intensity as woman? "It is an error to believe," Lacordaire has said in a letter addressed to one of his women friends, "that men live by ideas and women by feelings. I do not admit that distinction. Men also live by feelings, but these being sometimes loftier than yours, you call them ideas, because these ideas embrace a more universal order than the one to which you are most frequently bound."

Certain classic psychologists deny woman moderation in her judgments and, on the other hand, attribute to her lack of moderation in all her passions, both good and evil. She is accused, moreover, of showing impetuosity in her desires and an invisible inclination to

direct her course toward regions of sublime nobility or fathomless baseness. "She will be extreme in everything," says Fénelon, "as indifferent in her resolutions to reason as to the weighing of her acts. Egotism and altruism will take possession of her by the same right, for her emotionalism, ever seething, will cast her with equal facility toward either of the two opposite poles of morality."

Other judges of women, however, favour her by maintaining a different opinion. They teach us that her gentle, peaceful temperament predisposes her to the quiet of the home. She is pre-eminently conservative and dreams only of "stability" in things and ideas. Precisely because she is calm and well-balanced, she will be ill-adapted to the adventures which may cast her out of her environment.

Therefore, according to the group of experts whose viewpoint was first presented, it would be hazardous to grant woman rights equal to those of man, for woman would be always inclined in her judgments to be swayed by her nerves or by her immoderate and ill-balanced vehemence.

The psychologists of the second category, for reasons of a contrary order, would consider it no less dangerous to trust her judgments and her social activity. Whether in love with, or the slave of, social conservation, woman will only paralyse the march of progress.

As we see, the affectionate feelings of women lend themselves to all sorts of interpretations. Their case resembles that of love, for all kinds of absurdities can be laid with impunity to the charge of both.

Everything depends upon the angle at which we place ourselves to observe the comparative life of the two

sexes. The same emotionalism assumes the most varied forms. Their wealth differs according to the individual temperaments of the subjects noted. A more significant fact is this, that when men find themselves in conditions of life that more closely resemble those of the other sex, they contract the same virtues or the same weaknesses. Our moral impressionability, like the divine mercy, is boundless!

Viewed from this standpoint, woman appears more sensitive than man. She laughs, weeps, enjoys, suffers, fears, loves, or hates with much more marked facility. Since physiognomic manifestations respond closely to her inner life, she blushes, turns pale, and sheds tears more easily than does man. Only, there is nothing in the organic composition of the two sexes which predisposes them to this differentiation of their emotional nature. Woman, morally, is only the result of the conditions imposed upon her by life. She will be sublime in goodness or odious in cruelty, according to the surrounding environment which makes her think and act.

Herbert Spencer states that in countries where enemies are tortured, the women surpass the men in cruelty. Among the Dakotas, old men were delivered up to the women, who took special pleasure in subjecting them to all sorts of tortures. Bertillon adduces many proofs of the same kind borrowed from the life of savage peoples. Lombroso cites terrible examples of this ferocity in women who had taken part in political revolutions, as well as in the criminal woman. "The women of Naples," he tells us, "under the excitement of the epidemic of passion in 1799, even indulged in cannibalism; they ate and sold the flesh of the repub-

licans, as did the women of Palermo in 1866." Maxime du Camp relates facts that happened nearer to our own times. During the Commune, he tells us, the women showed themselves implacable not only in their pursuit of fugitives, but also in their mode of treating prisoners. While serving as hospital nurses, they gave alcohol to the wounded in order to kill them.

Simultaneously with feminine cruelty, we see feminine pity attain sublime proportions. Among the same savages where acts of barbarism intermittently burst forth, travellers point out numerous instances of gentleness and goodness. In this respect all the modern explorers, such as Stanley, Livingstone, and numerous others, are fully agreed. With Christianity, the qualities dormant in the primitive or savage woman appear in a sort of touching and imposing apotheosis of all the altruistic virtues of which the human being is capable.

It is woman who was the vivifying soul of all the charitable institutions which we owe to Christianity. The number of feminine martyrs of devotion, of pity, and of heroic deeds in behalf of the unfortunate and the suffering, is wholly incalculable.

Ernest Legouvé tells us that "under the apostles, the women reserved to themselves the anxious, attentive, vigilant cares of the mother. In the time of the martyrs, they remained women in modesty, while showing themselves equal to men in courage. In the days of the Fathers of the Church, while the preachers sermonised, the apologists scribbled, the followers of Origen sought the grounds of the faith, and the councils established them, the women alone loved and consoled."

Since that period, their active participation in the relief of human misery has never lessened. Every-

where they incarnate public and private charity. In all the movements of solidarity which honour and elevate human dignity, woman distinguishes herself by her active, indefatigable collaboration, wherein bursts forth all the energy of which woman is capable, and all the tenderness that is possessed by the human heart. In the presence of misfortune woman is disarmed. Her resentments vanish; she often disowns the law of man, her feelings of cruelty and of vengeance. Cases have been cited of Megæras during the Revolution, but we always forget the much larger number of women who having succeeded in conquering the "environment of humane cruelty," a cruelty resulting from views, often erroneous, of public safety, rose to heights of commiseration and pity, which was the more dangerous because it was suspected and severely punished. Michelet informs us that, at the most critical and turbulent periods of the Revolution," young beardless boys might be seen in carriages. These boys were women hastening to plead with the powerful men of the day in behalf of prisoners, or on their way to the prisons."

We need only glance through the golden annals of the benevolent undertakings of our own times to be convinced that the most glorious and the most touching pages are devoted to the acts and the deeds accomplished by the women.

IV. Woman and Religion. From the greater impressionability of woman arises the phenomenon observed among all nations and in every age, of the more marked susceptibility of woman to religion. She responds better and more quickly than does man to the stimulus afforded the emotions by each new moral and religious doctrine. Therefore, all inaugurators of new

religions have found in women their most faithful and most devoted converts. Without the support of women, what would have become of Christianity?

The religion of Jesus owes to woman not only its origins, its establishment, but also its maintenance in the world. Now, as well as nineteen centuries ago, the Christian religion is supported chiefly by woman.

The Christian Church, as well as all churches, has recourse at once to woman, and to her reason or to her specific reasons for saving the faith so often compromised by man. "Islamism, which is not exactly a holy religion," Renan[1] tells us, "but a natural, serious, liberal religion, a religion for men, has nothing to compare with the admirable types of Madeleine or Thecla; yet even this cold and sensible religion had sufficient charm to fascinate the devout sex."

Ayesha and Fatima have doubtless done more for the spread of the doctrine of Mahomet than have thousands of its fierce and cruel warriors. The mentality of woman, resulting from her mode of life and action in human societies, is the dominant cause of her religious convictions. Ever subject to the will of man, she believes more readily in the secret power of a Providence which rules her destinies. Unhappy, and the object of all sorts of persecutions and humiliations, she seeks with more eagerness the eternal principle of pity and the infallible way of salvation. Faith is the element in which she almost instinctively moves. She came to believe in the superiority of all those who oppressed and ruled her. Why should she not believe in the divinity of that sublime Being who, soaring above human miseries, was preparing for her an eternal reward? She not

[1] Renan. *Études d'histoire religieuse* (Sketches of Religious History).

only had the inclination, but was under the necessity of believing. Her whole nature responded to the incarnation of clemency, of goodness, and of justice. Her centuries of dependence had gained for her an infallible belief in a master who loved and directed her.

Her greater emotionalism, moreover, will cause her not only to fear the mysterious God of her soul, but also to love him the better. Like all the weak and the unhappy, she took refuge in this feeling of infinite sweetness which pervaded and adorned her life. Her love was of a superior essence. Better fitted, through her physiological constitution, to understand and to practise platonic love, she often imagined God as her heavenly lover, to whom she confided all her thoughts and offered the treasures of affection of which a human being is capable. And in the degree to which she surrended to Him her personality, she became more enraptured in the presence of the mystic image in which her whole mind and her whole being were absorbed. The more restricted her interests on earth, the more fervently she sought Him whose summons filled her life. A moment even came when, in an outburst of supreme emotion, she lost her power of reasoning. This is why we see women furnish the largest number of fanatics, who live by faith and by faith die.

We must not forget, also, that the new religions are created by men. Women merely follow. In this province, as in so many others, they submit to the suggestion of those whom they consider their superiors. Later, the priests recruited among men completed their conquest and rendered it permanent. From the lips of these priests, woman learned the articles of faith and the mysteries which did not cease to guide and

attract her. She did not attempt to struggle, for this new rule was singularly sweet. It awakened all her dormant aspirations and fostered her dreams of a future life that would compensate her for present sorrows. Religion even caused her to catch a glimpse of an incomparable justice under the form of equal happiness for both sexes. And, far from struggling against the bewitching voice of hope, woman abandoned herself to it mysteriously and voluptuously.

We should not confuse religious feeling,[1] that invincible aspiration of every human conscience toward the Infinite, with religions, the multiple forms supposed to be its incarnation. The first is eternal. It serves as the supreme distinction between man and the other organised beings, while the religions which lend it their forms are various according to nations and civilisations. Sex, in its turn, differentiates religions. Between a man and a woman who are equally devout believers in the Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, or Mussulman faith, will exist a certain difference in the hidden aspirations of the soul. Between a nun and a monk, between brother and sister members of the same congregation, there will be distinctive traits that separate and will continue to separate the sexuality of their faith.

All the specialists in sexual psychopathy agree upon one point—that, at the period of their puberty, young girls who have been reared religiously often give signs of an alarming excitement. Repressed emotions of sexual love burst forth under the form of hallucinations, varying from the hearing of heavenly voices to almost material contact with the divinity. The manifesta-

[1] See *La Science du Bonheur* (The Science of Happiness), by Jean Finot.

tion of religious emotion in woman, after the time of the menopause, which usually coincides with a sort of lull of the senses, assumes a less fervent and especially a less voluptuous form of faith, which then approaches more nearly to that of man. Aged devotees of all religions who spend their life in the churches repeat, it is true, a countless number of prayers and dedicate themselves to the most fatiguing religious observances. In this respect they more nearly resemble men who to the same degree have come under the domination of prayer than they do their young sisters who are a prey to a rapture of piety.

We have in mind, of course, only the morbid forms that faith assumes. This has no connection with genuine religion, which is always to be revered, whatever may be its denomination.

The more we study religious deviations in woman, the more evident it becomes that these are attributable to the special position which she occupies in contemporary humanity. She is more religious, more under the domination of all creeds, more submissive to the priests, and less amenable than man to deliverance by reason. These peculiarities of her soul result chiefly from her social and intellectual situation. The specific belief of woman, in many instances, is only the age-long work of man.

V. A Specific Source of Emotionalism. There is a sort of co-ordination of physiological and moral facts. The special mode of life to which women are subjected has had its repercussion not only on their bodies, but also upon their souls. A sedentary existence, or one limited to petty household occupations, has not only rendered woman's body less vigorous, but has also

weakened her energy and its manifestations. Bain has said that tender feelings flourish at the time the energies decline. The essential point is that the specific capacity for affection of woman does not extend to the domain of organic distinctions.

Among the other reasons for her greater emotionalism must be mentioned her anæmic condition, occasioned chiefly by lack of exercise. Anæmia and emotionalism are akin. Considered from this point of view, woman's emotionalism is condemned to undergo the counterbalance of all the changes that await her in her future evolution. From this time we must accept the evidence that women, profiting by a broader life, are less subject to the excesses of emotionalism from which idle women suffer. Havelock Ellis even asserts that in this respect a gulf separates the women of former times from those of our own day. The "vapours" and many other phenomena of feminine sensibility in by-gone years have weakened remarkably in intensity.

M. Émile Faguet who, in so many sides of his original and independent talent, resembles Voltaire, expresses upon this subject an opinion which is full of good sense:[1]

You have an established type of man. Yet think how many times you have said: This woman is a man. She is even a gendarme, she is even a procurator . . . If on so many occasions a woman has corresponded with the type which you believed essentially masculine, and a man has in so many other instances conformed himself to the type which you had thought pre-eminently feminine, it is because distinction of type in man and in woman does not hold fast and is very nearly a conventional conception. Man is a more

[1] E. Faguet, *Le Féminisme* (Feminism).

robust woman, and woman is a man who is capable of maternity; this is all, or nearly all, the difference.

We may round out this idea which is both true and ingenious by adding that, if woman conforms more frequently than man to our conventional idea of the sex, it is simply because she is found in conditions favourable to the development of certain vices and of certain virtues. But neither the vices nor the virtues are innate, and consequently these do not depend upon sexuality.

The entrance of woman into public life, and especially her different education, will have a beneficent influence upon her moral status. By acquiring a closer resemblance to man in this respect, will woman ever lose all the characteristic traits which now differentiate the two sexes? This is by no means probable, and still less is it desirable. Emotionalism is often the mother of sensibility. The more varied the latter quality is, the richer will be the forms and the conceptions of beauty. On the other hand, human attractions are often rooted in the differences between human beings. Individuals are drawn to one another, impelled principally by what distinguishes them from one another, rather than by their qualities of resemblance.

The progress of civilisation will be able to modify and to diminish the sufferings which maternity and menstruation cause women. But may we hope that this progress will ever succeed in saving her from all the physiological disadvantages which she undergoes from these sources? In the more marked anæmia of woman, her periodical sufferings and maternity play, and will always play, their part.

VI. The Emotions and Moral Beauty. After all, whatever woman loses from the physiological, she undeniably regains from the moral, standpoint. We think chiefly of maternity, for this lends to the life of woman the sublime qualities which are the pride of the human race—pity and love. In the feelings which maternity inspires reside the best elements of our moral perfection. In shielding with her protection the defenceless young being which has made her suffer so much, in pressing to her heart the creature which has almost cost her her life, in letting herself be seized with love for the still unconscious child, who can repay her only with incomprehension and ingratitude, woman clothes with divine beauty suffering and love.

All that is best within us shines in maternal affection and rekindles with boundless hope the human race of every age. For this source of love gushes forth for all, leaves within our souls unforgetable and imperishable traces, and illumines with its blessed tenderness the hardest paths of our Calvary and the darkest recesses of our hearts.

It is devoutly to be desired that the feminine capacity for affection may not exhaust itself until the disappearance of the last man. Bound to our existence, woman expects to remain faithful to our destiny and must draw from it not only a great consolation, but also a just pride. For maternity is pre-eminently the school of the altruistic virtues which constitute the life of society.

The only distinction truly worthy of the name which actually separates her from man could merely place her above him, if the solidarity of the two sexes did not make them profit equally by their greatness and suffer from their mutual afflictions.

VII. The Falsehood of Woman. Upon the tree of the life of woman, subjected to the conditions of different existence, grow various branches which appear to separate her from man. Deceived by their foliage, which is sometimes illumined by splendid solar rays, sometimes concealed by the darkness, we forget the transitory spectacle which charms or saddens our eyes, to remember only the dissimilar effects of the light. But it is simply necessary to bring the tree under conditions that permit of normal development and we shall very quickly perceive that certain peculiarities which have especially impressed us will disappear as if by enchantment. Under the influence of the same moral and intellectual conditions, the feminine soul also acquires the virtues and the vices analogous to those of man.

It is useless to reproach woman for having a special inclination to falsehood and dissimulation. After all, the question is simply that of the weapons to which the weak resort in the struggle for existence.

1.—*The Weapon of the Weak.* Psychologists and travellers are at one on this point. The phenomenon appears throughout the entire scale of humanity, beginning with civilised nations and ending with the African savages and primitive men. Wherever the weak man is compelled to struggle against the oppression of the strong, he will resort to dissimulation and falsehood. The same is true of woman. The more intolerable her situation, the more degraded she will show herself from the moral standpoint. "For falsehood," Spencer teaches, "accompanies every social condition based upon force and fear, the force of those who rule and the fear which they inspire in the governed by the use of the force."

Without heeding the causes of the evil, men have never shrunk from the exaggerations of its symptoms. Philosophers, moralists, psychologists, poets, or novelists, stigmatise woman as a being especially practising, and instinctively devoted to, falsehood.

"To demonstrate that falsehood is habitual in woman, one of her psychological peculiarities, would be futile; it is sanctioned by popular belief," Lombroso and Ferrero tell us. ". . . They even lie instinctively . . . and all are unconsciously a little false. . . ." According to Flaubert, "they even kick against the truth." Stendhal declares, "For a woman to be truthful, would seem to her like going out without her kerchief." Modern novelists are in accord, in this respect, with the standard writers of all times. The opinions of the greatest literary revolutionists, however, only follow the paths beaten by the legislators of all the ages. For almost all the codes start from the same point of view, that woman, being less truthful than man, shall be deprived of the right to testify.

This distrust on the part of the law, introducing a new source of weakness, has only increased the necessity of falsehood in woman. Man thus finds himself punished through his own sin. The more he humiliates woman, the more in her turn will she put him to shame. Compelled to live with and beside her, he will be steeped in the atmosphere created by himself. The weaker the woman is, the more will the man deserve commiseration. The sufferings which he causes her will envelop and strangle him in his sentimental and his family life. Nor will his public career be spared. The age-long system of slavery, practised among men, has been less harmful to him, the conquered and the oppressed

being outside of his household. The sufferings inflicted upon the slaves stopped at his threshold. But with woman injustice enters and takes a permanent place at his fireside, and the moral miasmas which rise from oppression are often more injurious than the bacilli of infectious diseases. Woman has thus become a solvent element in the life of man. The lamentations of the latter fill history and mingle with those of his companion, which are more discreet because they are often unconscious.

2.—*Deviated Mentality.* The principal object of woman's life being to please her master, she has contracted in the exercise of this function many unfortunate customs.

She ought to and must conceal the defects which render her less beautiful and less desirable. She must conceal the challengeable elements of her charm and, by means lawful or unlawful, claim those which she lacks. Therefore she will practise falsehood in her way of bedecking herself as well as in displaying herself and her manner of living. Since man is impressed by certain qualities of the feminine soul, she will make him believe that she possesses these, even when they are completely alien to her nature. She will wear false hair, as she will assume sham gentleness. She will repeat words and sentences which have no genuine relation to her mind, and she will try to render herself interesting and desirable by artifices which profoundly debase her soul. She will weep when she wants to laugh, and will laugh when she longs to weep. She will conceal her age and her wrinkles with the same solicitude as she will force down into the depths of her being

her rebellions and her enthusiasms. She will scream at a pin-prick, yet will control herself when completely overwhelmed by suffering. Though strong, she will ask to be protected, for man especially desires to have woman weak and dependent on his aid. She will calculate in all places and at all times. And in her calculations she will often deceive herself into taking more trouble to drive man from her than it would cost her to attract and retain him, for her neglected and imperfect education deprives her of the gift of analysis. She will reason incorrectly, and her conclusions, as well as her tactics, will be faulty in their foundation. The day that man, wearied by the falsehood that reigns around him, will try to conquer it, and in so doing, appeal to the logic of the normal woman, they will part company. He will perceive with bewilderment that their method of arguing is not the same. Woman will have ways of reasoning which his own reason does not understand. Weary and disappointed, he will shut himself up still more in the pride he feels as a member of the superior sex, and then he will deny his companion.

The misapprehension of falsehood will continue to burden with all its weight their mutual life, by degrading the man and rendering the woman infinitely unhappy.

3.—*The Falsehood of Man.* Having made these reservations, we willingly admit that falsehood appears more frequently in feminine than in masculine life. But men are not free from it. And here quality replaces quantity. Woman lies and dissembles more, but she does so under conditions far less serious for the evolution of the species. Man offends less frequently, but his falsehoods have more far-reaching re-

sults. Public life, founded and maintained by man, is throughout based upon falsehood. The insincere sentiments which poison our existence and render us so incapable of happiness manifest themselves not only in the relations between men, but also in those of the sexes and of the nations. Armed peace, that supreme invention of man, is in reality nothing but a gigantic lie that filters into every mind. Whether the education be public or private, from the relations between the social classes, from the principles of government and of justice, from the distribution of the taxes, from the apportionment of the duties of citizens, from the awarding of honours or the infliction of sacrifices, from everywhere rise the miasmas of falsehood which corrupt the atmosphere in which we live. The theatre, the book, the newspaper turn, with the same skill, from the truth. The noblest aspirations come forth from them disguised, perverted, or travestied. Nothing is spared, not even patriotism, which has become the object of an odious traffic. Everybody trades in it, including especially those who make themselves most conspicuous and claim in it a complete monopoly.

Falsehood is recognised as a necessary part of the machinery of life. Autocratic government invokes the divine authority and mind, as that of democracy, in order to rule and to endure, calls upon the principle of equality—and both lie, although not with the same impudence. The astuteness above is sustained only by the credulity below. Falsehood is overwhelming us. Our moral, intellectual, or physiological nourishment is poisoned by it to the same degree. Of this, the alimentary regimen to which we are forced to submit is a striking example.

Not only are we made to absorb products injurious to our health, but the traffic is conducted openly, publicly. Has not an *international congress for the repression of frauds*, held in Paris in 1909, authorised adulterations of products of the utmost importance, without provoking the slightest protest from the public powers or the consumers? So men are permitted to mix wines with other brands of poorer quality, to put into them albumen, dried blood, caseine, gelatine, or fish glue; to clarify them by the aid of whiting, kaolin, or a series of ingredients; to treat them with citric acid, caramel, sulphuric acid, etc. The ordinary syrups, intended for children or women who do not drink alcoholic liquors, may, according to the same congress, be coloured with so-called inoffensive products. The list of these falsehoods, which an assembly of worthy and honest merchants considered justified, is long. These men, who were doubtless very religious and exemplary fathers of families, add, moreover, with touching frankness, that it is not necessary to mention these operations to the purchaser.

Thus, in a province where the most vital interests of our children and our native land are at stake, falsehood reigns supreme without shocking unduly either veracity or loyalty.

Everything that we eat or drink contains poison that affects not only our bodies but our morals too. Borax, sulphuric acid, bi-sulphites, alum, sulphate of copper, aniline, urotropine, agar-agar (a sort of gelatine), and hundreds of other more or less unwholesome substances enter our bodies, as falsehood penetrates our souls.

Mankind, with equal ease, accommodates itself to

falsehood in the moral and in the religious domain. While the religion of Jesus commands man to love his neighbour as himself, the governments which proclaim themselves pre-eminently Christian are in their morals on a level with cannibals and practise stratagems worthy of the worst criminals. Spying upon one's neighbour, a practice which is repugnant even to convicts, is pursued eagerly by all the civilised powers. The nations are jealous of and prey upon each other, in the name of the same Christ who enjoined upon them love and mutual respect.

Monogamy is proclaimed as the essential, primordial, and salutary doctrine, resting upon both divine and human law. Yet in practice it is exceptional compared with triumphant, though veiled, polygamy.

Each profession subsists upon an inexhaustible capital of professional falsehoods. Beginning with certain priests, selling to the rich indulgence and divine mercy, privileges which are not theirs to dispose of, and ending with the politicians, who get themselves elected and keep themselves in power only by fallacious and unrealisable means, everywhere the same cry reaches our ears: we must lie, for falsehood is the basis of life as man has made it for his own profit and for the profit of other men. Whoever desired to destroy the integral falsehood, that supreme basis of the relations between individuals and governments, would be declared the enemy of the people and of his native land. He might even incur capital punishment for seeking the triumph of subversive truths. And all this is the work of man, created by man, for the profit of man!

His falsehood is, therefore, not only more intense but also more extensive and more important. It raises

him above woman not only by the quality, but by the quantity, of the merchandise that he puts in circulation. And since woman, morally, can be only the product of the circumstances which make her live and act, she will lie in her turn, according to her rank and her part in life. Reduced to the position of a dependent and often defenceless being, she will resort to the cunning and the falsehood of the weak. While her companion will proceed to acts of violence and injustice, she will confine herself to simple tricks of duplicity. The two sexes have only to reproach themselves for the divergent forms of their vice.

4.—*The Survival of the Truth.* Like every strong being, man especially loves in the companion of his choice her gentleness and her spirit of submission. He must have the qualities of the lion, she those of the tender dove. Whatever his temperament may be, the woman must resign herself to it. Therefore, she will have recourse to feigning in order to attract the male and to assure the continuation of the species. But it is not enough to be affectionate and agreeable. She must please, above all, the man of the present day, and the man he will become in future. So she must hide her real nature and adapt herself to the tastes of her master. She will use ornaments and coquetry. She will not only dress in a manner to win him, by resembling sometimes a bell, sometimes a fishing-rod, but she will also assume the moral aspect which will best serve her designs. The primitive desire to please will gradually become rooted in her consciousness and will become second nature to her. A whole swarm of small and great falsehoods will enter by this path the existence

she leads as a dominated being. Heredity and natural selection aiding, a woman will be born who will regard her duty of pleasing as the primordial duty and the essential object of her life. Man will not be unduly alarmed, for this manifestation of the falsehood of woman will render his own existence more agreeable. He cares little for the poison the blossom contains. He will enjoy especially all the fragrance the flower brings to him and the delicious allurements with which his existence will be charmed. After all, when some day he must suffer as a consequence, he will be quits with woman by reproaching her for the falsehood which has injured her interests and tortured her sensibility. What does matter is that life as lived by her sex, thanks to the woman who is thus transformed, may profit by it. She is man's chattel. She conforms to his tastes and his interests, even in her moral deformation.

By dint of continually desiring to please, woman will become crafty. While a secret rebellion is muttering in her soul, she wears her most engaging smile in order to conceal the tempest within. Dissimulation often covers with a thick veneer the depths of her soul. She will lie in words. She will also lie by acts and smiles. And these lies will prove that her human nature has not disappeared during long ages of servitude. This human nature is always rebelling. She lies to guard her human dignity, and this is the best proof of her persistence in the conflict, in spite of centuries of oppression.

5.—*Salvation through Moral Adaptation.* The fact that for thousands of years woman has lived under this

system, and that so many generations have developed under the influence of these special conditions, has resulted in leaving a peculiar imprint upon woman. Her mission of pleasing often seems the only reason for her existence on earth. This dominant, if not exclusive, purpose brings in its train a whole series of moral defects and infirmities. But the elasticity of the human soul is infinite. There is a moral, as there is a physiological, adaptation. The circumstances which modify our consciences having disappeared, the moral sense resumes the full freedom of its tendencies and inclinations. Races called inferior, which lie sunk in the baseness of numberless vices, as soon as they emerge from their unhealthy environment become equal to the best peoples. The Maoris, a hundred years ago savages and cannibals, now give to Australasia women of great merit and men whose moral and intellectual worth is in no respect inferior to that of the descendants of the English emigrants. The negroes of the United States, whose forefathers were recruited a century ago from the most degraded African tribes, are distinguished, at the present day, by marvellous progress in the economic and social domain.

We should be forced to despair of the future of man if the heredity of vice and the crimes committed during the progress of the ages left upon him of necessity an ineffaceable imprint. The soul is tractable, for it is impressionable even to excess. This is the foundation of all our hopes in the future. The impressionability of woman yields in no degree to that of man. With the change in her education and in her social position, she will regain veracity, that virtue of the masters, and abandon falsehood, the heritage of centuries of servitude.

Thus the eternal feminine, that assemblage of qualities termed exclusively womanly, is being altered under our eyes. For, during this oscillation of the changing conditions of our life, our souls do not cease to vary and develop. Neither man nor woman, the one no more than the other, is created for falsehood or for truth. And if falsehood so penetrates our life, it is because it has been introduced into it by the abnormal and erroneous relations which unite the two sexes. For duplicity engenders falsehood, as the plague causes fatal illnesses.

VIII. The Criminal Woman. Is woman more criminal than man? A whole department of literature, full of contradictions and hasty, unjust generalisations, exists upon this subject. Impressed by certain aspects of the crimes imputed to women, jurists and anthropologists have ended by admitting that woman appears to be far more criminal than man. When that vague and uncertain science, statistics, seemed to prove the contrary, they merely needed to bring prostitution into the domain of crimes to overwhelm woman under the numerical weight of her misdeeds. She is also upbraided with suicide, "that murder or assassination of one's self," according to the vigorous, though perfectly unjust, definition of Professor Lacassagne. It is only when decked with all the sins of prostitution and of suicide that woman can fairly hold her own against masculine criminality.

Prostitution, however, is only a great calamity, a great misfortune, that weighs upon feminine life. It must be extirpated by every means in our power; for fatal to woman, it is equally so to man himself. Misfortune, resulting from a sociological fatality of which

woman is not the author but a mere victim, cannot be made a crime. What is more, woman might easily reverse the characters and charge feminine prostitution to the account of man; for, in many cases, prostitution is simply the result of seduction. Man triumphs over feminine resistance by reason of criminal circumstances which, however, almost always escape repression. Deceived and abandoned, the woman afterwards swells the number of prostitutes, while man, arrogating to himself the character of judge, hurls at her head the crimes he has himself committed.

We will return to the domain of genuine feminine criminality, and, first of all, we shall discover the fact that, if woman sometimes surpasses man in crimes against the person, she always remains inferior to him in crimes against property.

So far as the first category is concerned, women are mainly distinguished by crimes involving poisoning, infanticide, abortion, acts of violence, and attacks upon children.

In a statistical and medico-legal study by Dr. Lacaze upon criminal woman in France from 1826 to 1907,[1] we find, among others, these comparative statistics:

Of 100 people accused of poisoning, 53 per cent. are women; of those accused of infanticide, the percentage is 94; for abortion it is 79; for violence to children the percentage is 59.

On the other hand, in the case of crimes against property, woman is responsible for only 26 per cent. in the sum total of fires; for 35 per cent. of domestic thefts, and in nearly the same proportion for the extortion of titles or signatures.

[1] *Archives d'anthropologie criminelle*, June, 1911.

The special situation created for woman by the laws and social prejudices explains her crimes of abortion as well as of infanticide. When seduction accompanying certain manœuvres is regarded as a crime, when the woman who is seduced need not bow her head beneath the general scorn, when, moreover, she will have the ability to demand and to obtain the means to feed and to educate the innocent victims of her alleged crime, there will doubtless be fewer cases by far of abortion, and still fewer infanticides.

But, with these two crimes eliminated from the comparative statistics of the two sexes, woman shows herself radically superior to man. For if, with these crimes included and taking all countries into consideration, woman commits only one fifth (20 per cent.) of the whole sum of the crimes imputed to mankind, her alleged criminality, by the subtraction of these two categories, will undergo another considerable reduction. Yet it would be wholly contrary to scientific methods to attempt to draw from this the conclusion that woman is a being solely compounded of virtue, or that criminality in her is only an exception, while in man it is the rule.

One needs only observe more closely the conditions of respective criminality in the two sexes to perceive that their specific crimes are only the results of their special situation.

Even the mode of committing the crimes is in direct relation to the social and economic situation of the man and the woman. As man labours outside and woman within the home, man yields more frequently to the temptation of robbery, housebreaking, or murder, while woman furnishes the greatest percentage

of so-called domestic thefts. On the other hand, being weaker than man, she resorts to cunning, to falsehood, and to poison, and depends on accomplices.

In short, woman's criminality is more tame because her social position is more insignificant. When placed in the conditions in which man develops, under the domination of the motives which urge her to violate the established social laws, she turns aside, like him, from the path of duty, with the same promptitude and the same passion.

She is less criminal than man, for she is subjected to fewer temptations and because her opportunities for doing evil are, comparatively speaking, much more restricted.

So, though guilty like man, she is guilty in a different way. Her crimes, as well as her powers of committing them, vary under the domination of the special conditions under which her sex is developing.

Cases of hysteria are also included among the specific crimes of woman, but let us point out the abuse that is made of this term which, according to certain criminalists and psychopaths, embraces almost our whole moral and social life; nor must it be forgotten that men are not immune from the hysteria which watches, follows, and seizes upon them with the weakening of their nervous system.

Feminine criminality, as it shows itself in our times, bears, like that of man, an eminently social stamp. This criminality varies according to the economic situation and the education received by woman, and will change with the enlargement of feminine life, expressing itself in profoundly modified figures whenever the entire relations between the two sexes undergo, in their turn, extensive modifications.

IX. A Greater Emotionalism. Certain specific virtues of woman flow from the same sources as her defects. The diminution of her social and political personality, her position of a subordinate, compelled to divine the wishes of her master, have at all times stimulated her faculties of intuition and divination. Limited and enclosed within the restricted domain of her lord's tastes, these two gifts have not been able to assume a very imposing aspect. Their way of manifesting themselves is far from attaining the limits of the sublime. Feminine intuition and divination, displaying themselves chiefly within the narrow spheres of daily life, have received from these spheres a decisive imprint. Woman therefore knows how to direct herself in the labyrinth of varied tastes which abound among men. She knows how to find the weak points of our self-love, the fissures through which escape the satisfactions and the sufferings of our vanity. She knows also how to speak the language most adapted to calm our apprehensions and to lull our sorrows. Her flattery is more enfolding, more gentle, and especially more persuasive. Her lack of personality allows her to merge herself more easily in that of man. She can thus more readily abandon herself to enthusiasm and admiration, for what is the latter unless it be the recognition of our own powerlessness? What chiefly prevents us from kneeling before our fellow-creature is the feeling of annihilation which often, like a shadow, follows admiration. The consciousness of our own worth prevents us from allowing ourselves to be influenced by that of others. This is the reason why admiration usually tends towards the domains which have nothing in common with our own work. A novelist

will go into raptures more readily over an orator or a philosopher than over another novelist. Woman, living outside of our competitions, for that very reason will be more subject than man to the feelings that expand or exalt our fellow-creatures. In this way she will cultivate the virtues which principally honour the human race.

On the other hand, her more secluded and more peaceful life predestine her to greater emotionalism. She hates, loves, or admires more spontaneously than does man. But all these emotions will be more moderate. She is also more addicted to reverie, and a vague, vain sentimentality. Aided by her education, she is predisposed to read romantic works. Living chiefly for love, she thinks chiefly of love, which becomes the principal subject of her thoughts and the object of her predilection. She eagerly reads romances of passion and never wearies of analysing love, the subtle feeling that becomes to her the richest in revelations and surprises. This kind of literature, like love itself, becomes to her an inexhaustible source of sensibility. Misguided by its phenomena, invented according to desire, she loses sight of everything trivial and humiliating to her dignity which it contains. Her very intelligence, by dint of being nourished upon this waste of thought which usually characterises the novel of the present day, will undergo a regrettable diminution.

X. The Overflow of the Imagination. To expiate his errors, man will find himself, in his turn, dragged by woman into the same domain. Love will become the favorite subject of their discussions. The romance of imagination, so rarely worthy of occupying our thoughts,

will gradually invade modern life. The novelists, men or women, will become the leaders of humanity. These will guide man's destinies, for they will contribute most to shape his imagination. But it is dreaming and thinking that will then guide us, rather than facts. Improve their quality, and at the same time we shall improve the human race.

An historian of the thirtieth century or thereabout, seeing the intellects of our times dominated by the novel and by novelists, will not be able to refrain from smiling at our intellectual pretensions. He will think that, like the ancient Egyptians, we have worshipped too engrossingly inferior beings. This indulgent observer will not be, perhaps, far from the truth. Woman, condemned to the romantic life and thought, has thus drawn man himself into the same path. Enclosed within this vicious circle, both will expiate the crime of the subjection of woman.

The diminution of the part played by romantic literature will not be one of the smallest results of the re-establishment of sexual equality. With this literature will pass away the exclusive worship of love, of a certain love erring in its aspirations and bases, as if life had nothing better to offer to those who think, to those who suffer and devote themselves to the cause of our fellow-mortals than the satisfaction of the sexual appetite. Great structures are reared only upon foundations deeply sunk in the earth. Life, all on the surface, often renders women incapable of feeling what is broadly human. A woman of extremely brilliant mind has declared that, when her sisters pray to God, they seem to be "praying against somebody." Their affection is more exclusive and more superficial. Absorbed by the

life of love, woman expends her emotionalism in the small coin of sympathies or antipathies, raptures of love or of hatred, of admiration or of purely personal aversion. As she is delivered up to a more restricted life, its slightest manifestations assume greater importance in her eyes. By seeing her more under the domination of love or hate, we simply conclude that she feels them more strongly than man. Often the matter is only a simple optical illusion which makes us believe a tree is larger in proportion to its degree of isolation. In the forest of sensations which overruns the life of man, each sensation, taken individually, is diminished by the imposing mass of all those which surround it.

XI. Woman Incomplete and Man Defective. When we reflect upon the psycho-physiology of woman, we perceive that she bears a closer resemblance to the child. This observation has been countersigned both by the detractors of and the apologists for the feminine sex. In vain we seek in this a reason for humiliation or pride. Compared with man, the child sometimes excels, sometimes falls below. The case of woman is much the same. Her historical position among all peoples and in all ages having narrowed her field of action and diminished her human dignity, woman has gained, as a consequence, certain advantages while losing many others.

Having become the toy of man, the source of his joys and of his pleasures, woman finds it impossible to think and to suffer equally with her master. Mentally and morally, she has preserved many of the traits that characterise and distinguish children. Is this

a sign of inferiority or of superiority? In the simian species, the young bear a close resemblance to our children. As they grow older, the monkeys diverge more and more from the human species. The young might lay claim, therefore, to a sort of superiority when contrasted with their elders. The same is true of the human race. Children are in many respects superior to the fully formed man. Their skull and certain much more regular features give them the same number of advantages from the standpoint of structure.

Woman is reproached on the ground that she is only a man whose development has been arrested. But she might answer that man is only a woman. She might add also that, morally, children are often nearer geniuses than are men in the maturity of their evolution.

Geniuses are especially distinguished by their candour and their recklessness, two fundamental qualities which separate children from their elders. Woman, who bears a closer resemblance to her young descendants than does man, might draw from this some reasons for consolation and pride.

Rational evolution does not always follow a straight line. Progress is only a curve. It thrusts us sometimes toward the heights, sometimes makes us descend from the summits. So it would be unreasonable to reproach ourselves mutually because of the stopping places, the points of advance or of retrogression which the sexual ascension undergoes. The distance that separates the two sexes, after all, is only transitory, as their distinctive traits are not immutable. Superior or inferior to man, woman is so only on account of her special situation, which she has not ceased to keep through the ages. She is a defective man only be-

cause she has been in all ages an incomplete woman. In her long subjection, woman has not, however, contracted organic infirmities which render her incapable of regaining her lost position. On the contrary, the least modification of the intellectual or moral conditions of her life permit her to reconquer, with astonishing celerity, the qualities lost during the centuries of an abnormal existence.

The progress realised by the woman of our times permits the most radiant hopes to be cherished for her future. And as upon the enlargement of her life depends, above all, the salvation of man himself, let us trust to the beneficent star that presides over human destinies.

CHAPTER V

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW WOMAN

Psychology of the Movement

A CHANGE has taken place in the world, for man and woman are no longer the same. They have varied chiefly in their manner of viewing their reciprocal personalities. An investigation which could afford the precise results of this modification of the mentality of the civilised world would prove to us its extent and its depth. All countries and all the strata of society are affected by it. The feminist movement has developed outside of and beneath religions, prejudices of classes, of races, and of colour. We find its adherents everywhere, as its adversaries are also everywhere to be encountered. Both having come from centres of action, of thought, and of life which are often radically opposed, prove the vitality of what it has been agreed to call the feminine movement. It now has followers of all conditions: middle classes, working people, clericals or anti-clericals. But it is something more; for it lives by itself. It uses every tendency of thought, while keeping its own claims and hopes. Its enemies are invaded by its rising floods in their most strongly entrenched camps. Barricades against feminism are

no longer possible, for its ideas are floating in the air. The world is so filled with these that, without being aware of it, we are penetrated by them to the inmost depths of our being. Imperceptibly they have ended by forming an integral portion of our mode of reasoning; they have transformed logic and vitiated conclusions. Those who are most moderate in their convictions admit, at the present day, unconsciously or with resignation, feminist postulates which a hundred, or even fifty, years ago, would have made advanced minds recoil with horror. Who would venture, henceforth, to dispute the necessity of opening to women certain liberal careers; who would deny their intellectual worth, their right to higher salaries, their participation in family councils, the ownership of the dowry which they bring to their husbands, or of the profits realised by their own work?

The enumeration of all the breaches which feminism has made in our venerable mentality would be a lengthy one, and as yet we are only at the commencement of the conflict. The definite victory of the feminist demands is already announced as inevitable and certain. To understand the futility of this battle, which is lost in advance by man and is, moreover, demoralising to the vital harmony of the human race, it is sufficient to consider its starting point. When we regard the very recent date of this movement and contrast with it the radical transformations which have been effected not only in legislations but—a far more difficult thing —in contemporary mentality, we cannot resist an astonishment bordering upon admiration. Candid persons can draw from these only two conclusions: either the cause of the political, economical, and family de-

liverance of woman is so just that the lies opposed to it are destroyed by themselves; or the intelligence, perseverance, and energy of the women are so far above those of the men that the latter have only to bow early to the virtues of their opponents. In any case, the claims of woman being more legitimate or simply being defended with a more valiant, more logical, and more intelligent energy, must emerge triumphant from all the obstacles imposed by man.

A—In France

I. In the Past. Doubtless, in the most remote past, there have been women who were dissatisfied with their lot. But their conscious movement tending toward the reparation of the injustices inflicted by man dates only from the close of the eighteenth century. It will be a glory of the French woman to have been one of the first to proclaim that her rights as a citizen are equal to those of man. As, in affirming the emancipation of man, France laboured for mankind, so the French woman, in her turn, has battled for the women of all countries. The pioneers of the movement consider woman as a human being, but not yet as the mother, the wife, or the daughter developing in the conditions made for her in France. Starting from Paris and certain French provinces, feminism, as it has been conceived in France, is spreading through the world. The first feminist organisations have also had their dawn in France. Later, the Anglo-Saxon woman, with the practical spirit that characterises her, has understood how to give to feminism more substantial foundations, a more exact organisation, to enclose it within more

definite limits which, for that very reason, are easier to attain. But the impulse of the movement, the spark that has kindled the ever-increasing conflagration of the revolts of woman, have originated in France. We have no intention of repeating the history of this movement, which would require whole volumes. We will confine ourselves simply to retracing briefly its genesis and its evolution, in order to show that, from the first moment of the deliberate opening of the feminist demands, *these were always the same. Woman has not increased her claims in proportion to the satisfaction of certain of their exigencies; she has simply accepted these as an instalment upon the whole of the rights formulated in an exact method.* This statement has its own importance. It furnishes the best proof that it would be useless to seek to compromise with a programme so clearly formulated and needs which have penetrated and become rooted in the mind.

Genuinely feminist literature begins at the commencement of the eighteenth century, but it becomes chiefly abundant during the years preceding 1789.[1] New tendencies were floating in the air, presaging the tempest which burst forth very late. For, under the influence of the leaders of the Revolution, the friends of woman turned aside from her demands.

The ideas of the encyclopædists, so advanced in

[1] In this order of ideas we may note, *Le triomphe de la femme* (The Triumph of Woman) (1766) by Mme. Doyen, in answer to the work: *Paradoxe sur la femme, où l'on tâche de prouver qu'elle n'est pas de l'espèce humaine* (Paradox on Woman, in which the attempt is Made to prove that she does not belong to the Human Species); Thomas, *Essai sur la femme* (Essay on Woman); numerous anonymous books like *La Vérité dévoilée* (The Truth Unveiled), *Le cri d'une honnête femme,* (The Cry of a Virtuous Woman.) etc.

other provinces, were terribly backward in everything concerning women. And the encyclopædists were the intellectual masters of the guiding minds of the period. The feminists became more and more rare, but their elevation of mind and understanding of the real interests of mankind will secure for them indelible recollection in the memory of women.

"I do not understand" [said Condorcet[1]], "in the name of what principle, in the name of what right, are women, in a republican government, excluded from public offices? The term national representation means representation of the nation. Do not women form a portion of the nation? The object of this assembly is to establish and to maintain the rights of the French people? Do not women constitute a part of the French people? The right to elect and to be elected is based for men upon their claim to be free and intelligent creatures. Are not women free and intelligent? The only limits placed upon this right are condemnation to hard labour or shameful punishment, and to minority. Have all women been involved with the public prosecutor? Will women be charged with their lack of education, their lack of political talent? It seems to me that there are many representatives who dispense with these. The principal objection itself, which is in every mouth, the argument that consists in saying that opening the political career to women will snatch them from their families, is a conjecture which has only a semblance of solidity. In the first place, it does not apply to the numerous women who are not wives, or who are wives no longer. Then, if it were decisive, it would be necessary, *for the same cause, to forbid them all the manual and all the commercial callings;* for these occupations tear them by

[1] *Journal de la Société de 1789* (Journal of the Society of 1789), No. 5, July, 1790.

thousands from family duties, while political employment would not busy a hundred of them in all France."

The noble zeal of the apostle of feminism, supported by that of Sieyès, was exhausted against the prejudices of the age. Received with hooting, jeered and ridiculed by the guiding minds of the period, these ideas were thrust aside for a long time.

Exasperated by the resistance of the legislators, Théroigne de Méricourt invites the women of Paris, on the 5th of October, 1789, to meet on the Place Louis XV, in order to claim their rights and entrance to the sessions of the legislators of the Commune. At the intervention of Chaumette, the women, being sharply attacked by the Assembly, went away discouraged. The heroic Théroigne, lashed by the people who were incited against her, died of shame. The movement continued. A petition of the women, towards the end of 1789, asks the National Assembly, *to vote the equality of the two sexes*, and insists upon the difficulties which women encounter in earning their living. The number of feminist societies, and of women speaking or writing in favour of the enlargement of their rights, does not cease to augment. But the years pass, and the legislators leave their demands in contemptuous forgetfulness. In vain does Olympe de Gouges draw up her famous proposition in which she proclaims that "Woman is born free and equal to man in rights" and that "*all the women and all men who are citizens, must be equally eligible to all dignities, places, and public offices, without any other distinction than that of their virtues and their talents*"; the men take no notice of it and stuff their ears to shut out

the clamour of their sisters, their wives, and their daughters.

The seventeen articles formulated by Olympe de Gouges contain not only in their germ, but in their development and their logical sequence, the claims of the woman of our own times.

She states, among other things, that:

Woman is born free and equal to man in rights. . . .

The principle of all sovereignty resides in the entire nation, which is only the union of the woman and the man.

The law must be the expression of the general will, and all the men, as well as all the women, must concur personally or through their representatives in its formation. . . .

Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must also have that of mounting the tribune. . . .

We may say also that, from this epoch, women appear to have understood that their emancipation depends principally upon their own efforts. The sympathy of men may aid their cause, may even facilitate the coming of justice, but the victory depends solely upon the woman herself, working in behalf of her sisters. The successive evolution of the feminist cause only confirms this truth which was glimpsed at the end of the eighteenth century.

Societies and clubs in favour of woman were multiplying visibly. Paris and the provinces were filled with them. Charlotte Corday joined one of these clubs, which numbered among its members very remarkable women, such as Rose Lacombe and so many other apostles of feminism in France.

The work of centuries is not to be destroyed in a few years. The protagonists of the movement very quickly

perceived this to their own cost. When, on the 20th of May, the law prohibited them from the privilege—in itself a very innocent one—of attending political assemblies, despair seized the most intrepid among the feminist rebels. Their minds, unaccustomed to the vicissitudes of political struggles, seem to have been crushed by this unexpected shock. Numerous suicides of women were recorded caused by this first defeat, then the order of the day was resumed. But the impulse was given. Napoleon I tried vainly to stifle this growing rebellion in the hearts of women. Surpassing his legislators, who were so hostile to all feminist demands, he urged with all the force of his will the introduction into the family of his conceptions of military hierarchy: the husband was elevated to the rank of colonel, and must watch over the life and morals of his wife who, a private soldier, owed him "love and obedience."

The repressed feelings of discontent revive at the first occasion. In 1830, as in 1848, women were restless and filled France with the clamours of their demands; feminist pamphlets multiplied, as well as special papers intended to defend the interests of women.

At a certain moment, we see the feminist movement very near a decisive victory. This was in 1848, when the representatives of the "Rights of Woman" were received at the Hôtel de Ville, where brilliant promises were made, and at the same time a "Feminine Constitution" was proclaimed. Is it necessary to add that the politicians of the time very quickly recovered themselves and were eager to leave the apostles of the new faith under no illusion?

After the *coup d'état*, the most active leaders of the

movement were sentenced to exile. Believing that their demands would be closely connected with the triumph of a liberal republic, which in casting aside the old religious and monarchical fetters would, at the same time, reject the prejudices of sex, the feminine promoters of emancipation worked with a rare zeal in behalf of the republicans. Rewarded by the persecutions of the Empire, they secured a platonic reward from all republicans who are thankful to them for the sincerity and the ardour of their convictions.

II. In the Present. The third republic, when once established, showed itself kind and favourable to the continuation of the feminist propaganda which commenced under the efficient direction of Maria Deraismes.

Possessing remarkable beauty and extraordinary intelligence, wealthy and influential, this woman, who was endowed with both brains and heart, succeeded in collecting around her all who were most prominent in French feminism. I had the happiness of seeing frequently the chatelaine of Pontoise—as we called her among ourselves—during the latter years of her life (1894).

Her eloquence possessed an irresistible charm. Mingling in the political life of her department, she exercised the powers of a constitutional queen. The voters worshipped her, and the most influential political personages came to her for counsel and inspiration.[1]

[1] By the side of Mme. Deraismes must be noted the courageous activity of Mme. E. Potonié-Pierre, Mme. Hubertine Auclert, the founder of the paper *La Citoyenne* (The Citizeness), Mme. Cheliga, Mme. Vincent, and so many other protagonists of the movement. Lack of space does not permit us to cite other names worthy to figure in the golden annals of feminist demands and triumphs.

As President of the *Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme* (Society for the Improvement of Woman's Fate), she organised in 1878 the first international feminist congress. Eleven years later, she assembled a *second congress*, which marks a decisive date in the French feminist movement. The representatives of all countries flocked to it, and discussed with an astonishing breadth of view and comprehension the interests of woman throughout the world. The first foundations of national and international tactics were laid, and arrangements were made for subsequent sessions which proved so astonishing from the amplitude of the discussions and the worth of the individuals who participated.

Henceforth the corner-stones of French feminism were placed. Nothing can remove them.

A short time after, at the *Congrès des œuvres et institutions Féminines* (Congress of Feminine Works and Institutions), organised by Mme. Emilie de Morsier and Mme. Bogelot, the women amazed the men by showing them with what an admirable talent for organisation they could accomplish, without any co-operation from man, works of the very highest order in the domain of charity.

This was perhaps the best means of proving their administrative capacity, their talent for order, and their ability to direct public institutions.

The work of woman was beginning to be appreciated

Yet how can we fail to mention the Duchesse d'Uzès, Mme. Schlumberger, Mme. Jane Misme, the very distinguished directress of *La Française* (The French Woman), and so many other advocates of the good cause who, by voice or pen, are battling in behalf of the woman of the future?

at its real value. Public opinion, agreeably impressed, showed itself more and more favourable to feminist claims, and women themselves who, until that time, through fear of jeers and ridicule had held aloof from the movement, joined with pride the feminist societies whose number was steadily increasing. We may note among those which are best known the *Droit des femmes* (Rights of Woman), presided over by Mme. Pognon; *La Solidarité*, (Solidarity), founded by Mme. Potonié-Pierre and Mme. Maria Martin; *l'Avant-Courrière* (The Forerunner), established by Mme. Jeanne Schmahl who displayed an activity as efficient as it was energetic, and later obtained one of the most famous feminist victories, in securing woman the free disposal and ownership of her salary.

In 1891 was inaugurated the first general assembly of the *Union Universelle des Femmes* (Universal Union of Women) which constituted a bond between the feminist societies of France and other countries. The address of the President, Mme. Clémence Royer, received with enthusiasm, found a loud echo wherever woman is working for her own elevation.

. . . . . .

Women have been reproached with being divided, as if men were always united. Their demands soar above religions and class principles, but their mode of action is not always in a condition to free itself from the rivalry of persons. The women of the lower and the middle classes, the Catholics or the Protestants, show certain reserves or certain traits of assurance in direct connection with their social position. Often, in the common contact, the ancient angles which separate

them are polished, complete harmony is established, and we therefore see the most aristocratic society women accept as presiding officers women of the middle classes and *vice versa*. This fact is so much the more to the credit of women, because the feelings of class inequality are rooted so deeply in their life.

Often, in the impossibility of agreeing, women group themselves under religious banners. So we have Protestant, as there are Catholic societies.

Our study having in view only the movement of principles and ideas allows names often very meritorious to pass. We may mention, however, the two most important denominational groups: a Protestant one long since formed by Mme. Monod, and her journal *La Femme* (Woman), and the Catholic, organised by Mlle. Maria Maugeret and Mme. Marie Duclos, and their paper *Le Féminisme chrétien* (Christian Feminism). A point which is not to be despised is that the Catholic movement has understood how to secure the sympathies of the Catholic clergy, once so hostile to innovations that were intended to unsettle the family and the religious faith.

It was not a very easy task to render Catholicism neutral, if not favourable, to the feminist demands. But the sympathetic attitude of the old, and especially that of the young, clergy with respect to moderate feminism can no longer be doubted. The programme of Catholic feminism is summed up in these few definite lines borrowed from Mlle. Maugeret.[1]

"Christian feminism is the resolute adversary of free-

[1] Report of Mlle. Maugeret upon the legal situation of woman regarded from the Christian standpoint. *Le Feminisme chrétien*, May 1906.

thinking feminism. If the twentieth century should be, as is predicted, the century of woman, it ought to be, pre-eminently, the century of the Catholic woman."

This has not prevented the eminent Catholic advocate from denouncing all the errors of the Code and demanding reforms which extend from the personal capacity of woman to the rights which ought to be granted to her from the family and the political standpoint. Her speeches were heard and applauded, during the congress of 1900, by the highest authorities among the clergy as well as representatives of families who were most firmly wedded to the ideas of the past.

The Catholic Church does not discourage women who are working in behalf of their deliverance. It also abstains from deriding or combating the women or the men developing outside of the influence of the Church who are leading the movement by contributing to its triumph. Sagacious and shrewd, it considers that the feminist cause will not be slow in conquering. Then why not secure the sympathy of the victors?

Whatever may be the motive of the clerical policy with regard to feminism, the goodwill of the church secures it an advantage which is not to be disdained.

The champions of the movement, on their part, accept both men and women as allies without cavilling too much over the colour of their flag.

Like the mighty torrent which bears everything along in its powerful current, commencing with beneficent streams and ending with the grasses or the stones it meets on its way, modern feminism accepts all contributions. Sometimes revolutionary women bring to it social salvation based upon free union, complete and absolute, with the destruction of the family and the

dream of communist equality; sometimes, from the opposite pole, women nurtured by faith preach deliverance by religion and the return to the ancient system. Feminism works over all these various ideas and brings them gradually toward a utilitarian conception of its aspirations and its programme.

Disunion exists only on the surface. A dozen societies which are at work in France even betray a dull hostility which reigns from group to group, a hostility toward persons, a hostility toward methods of action. But let a question of importance to feminism arise, such as the political vote, and all the divided sections draw close to each other, act as a single body, animated by the same thought and tending toward the same goal.

This cohesion, this freemasonry which is solid for the very reason that it is tacit, because it is based upon the union of souls instead of upon high-sounding words, gives to feminism a stamp of power which bears within itself its own victory.

Feminism, moreover, has one rare virtue which will endear it to all independent minds who dislike the quarrels of parties and parishes. It wishes to have its own personality and not enlist under the leadership of socialists, anarchists, reactionaries, or radicals.

A woman of great ability, Mme. Marya Cheliga, whose exertions and writings have rendered undeniable services to the feminist cause, stated a dozen years ago: "Though indissolubly connected with the socialist question, feminism must not be confounded with the socialist movement, nor subordinated to its different schools. Since the claims of woman are not exclusively economical, the feminist movement could be only an episode in the struggle of the classes."

The past has demonstrated to woman that she must rely solely upon herself. When she has acquired the consciousness of her own strength, she will have all the aids that are necessary to accomplish her equality of rights with man.

Thus the movement continues to progress. Congresses, societies, and special works influence not only men but, what is more important, react strongly upon woman herself. At first indifferent and often even hostile, she is beginning to sympathise with those who, braver or more sensitive to the injustices or to the misfortunes of their sisters, are devoting their lives to the common cause. Their abnegation is so much the more touching because, probably, they will not see during their lifetime the entire triumph of their efforts.

III. The Political Vote. The government of men and of affairs has, during several centuries, undergone marked modifications. Power has passed to the people. The legislative and centralised governmental forces, formerly in the hands of a single man, are now divided and parcelled out among all the voters of the country. They have to determine the forms and measures for their welfare, their political method of living and developing. The spirit of enfranchisement has invaded every brain and penetrates from top to bottom all the social classes. Even those who, imbued with the ideas of the past, dream of the return of a master or talk of the inequalities of salutary and inevitable laws, hold these in view only for others. The new spirit undoubtedly often speaks in a disturbing way. Sometimes, in the form of a violent tempest, it overthrows certain barriers which are necessary supports of the social order and equi-

librium. Sometimes, fed by pernicious or simply precocious ideas, it drives before it with the same fury law and license, scandalous privileges, and the fundamental grounds of political and social life.

From all these often contradictory movements comes forth a more and more immovable conception of human dignity, that essential basis of the modern conscience —its indispensable and intrinsic element.

Woman, having mingled in active life, is in her turn penetrated by it. She feels fresh pangs of social and political birth, for democracy is ever bringing out an ideal of a new existence, of a more and more perfected social and political organisation. Seated by the sufferer's bedside, woman demands her share of pains and of joys. She takes the place of nurse by the same right as her companion, for her future as a human being also depends upon the patient's recovery. Upon this democracy which is born and grows up on the ruins of the ancient system will depend by the same right the destiny of man and that of woman; on its wisdom the greatness of the common native land; on its clearness of vision the disappearance of difficulties and dissolvent obscurities; on its nobility, the dignity and the moral perfection of all; lastly on its genuine grandeur the happiness of the two sexes, bound by the same fetters to the present and the future organisation of their country.

It is readily to be understood that the new woman is chiefly preoccupied with obtaining a sanction of the rights necessary for the normal existence of her sex and of her country. We have shown elsewhere how perilous and defective is the present organisation.

Mankind is struggling over a volcano, threatened by

wars within and without, international conflicts and battles of interests in the bosom of the same country. Does the fault lie with man, the exclusive director of the destinies of the nations, or in the inherent and insurmountable difficulties which he has encountered on his way? Whatever may be the cause, woman has not only the right but also the duty of coming in her turn to aid in pushing forward the social and political vehicle which seems to be sunk in hollow roads that have no outlets.

By the side of the dangers to mankind, woman sees in the ancient political structure the various causes of her moral and social inferiority. In modern democracy, justice shines often only for those on whom its power depends. To obtain the right to combat an iniquity, one must be a voter and eligible for office. The cause of woman's emancipation will be definitely won only on the day when her vote will weigh in the national and international scale. And having come to an understanding of this, woman is working with all her powers for the triumph of the laws which would secure her participation in political life.

We have seen previously with what persevering and intelligent energy the modern woman is directing her assaults against the citadel of masculine prejudices that had appeared impregnable.

If in certain countries these legislative victories are delayed, we discover, nevertheless, the incessant progress that her propaganda has made upon the conscience and in the brain of man. From every quarter proofs of sympathy are reaching woman. A still more significant thing, as we have seen, is that her demands are no longer combated by appeals to justice, but

simply by arguing as to their expediency. This is much; we feel that woman who has grown greater as a thinking being has also grown in the eyes of man. This phenomenon is not peculiar to any one country: it belongs to all lands.

Public opinion is favourable to the French woman; thinkers and novelists are exalting her qualities; yet, in spite of this, she continues to be treated like an inferior being.

The provisions of the civil code, of the commercial code, the administrative laws, the constitutional laws, as if to prove that they are only the exclusive products of the brain of man, show in regard to woman a sort of contempt mingled with hostility.

When married, woman continues to be treated as if she were a part of a conquered race. We refuse her certain rights that are granted to all men. The Code, with evident prejudice, perpetuates in a series of articles, methodically elaborated, the destruction of personality in the married woman. In marrying she loses, with her name, the right to dispose of her fortune and of her physical and moral person. She owes obedience to her husband and must follow him, the eminent lawyer, Pothier, asserts, even "though the husband should choose to go to a place infected by the plague." She is often below her own maid-servant, for she has no right to have secrets from her husband. If he finds it interesting, he can even take possession of her correspondence and violate her secrets. She is, at any rate, below the slaves of antiquity, whose masters had always the power to give them freedom. For a husband, whatever may be his ideas of the dignity of a wife, cannot release his own from the

rights, privileges, and obligations which he holds from the Code.

Marriage, in origin a sacred institution, often becomes a sort of permanent injustice established by the legislator, in spite of the fundamental principle that the person cannot become an alienable property.

While harmony reigns with the married couple, this situation does not trouble them; but a conflict may arise, and the wife instantly perceives that the legislator has defrauded her of her rights to justice and liberty. No resource is left to her except to break the marriage bond. The two paths at her disposal offer no escape. Separation and the abandonment of her rights often cost much and give her almost nothing. Divorce depends chiefly upon the husband's will. The husband remains always the master in name, if not in fact. To him goes the enjoyment of his wife's fortune; to him also belongs the right of deciding the education and the future personality of his children.

It would require whole chapters to enumerate all the singular, if not barbarous, survivals which weigh upon the life of woman. Wife and mother, educator of the future citizens, she finds herself before the law in the same position as insane persons, children, and those condemned by the common law! While these others can anticipate the period when, by recovery or rehabilitation, they will be permitted to regain the common right, woman can reach this only in consequence of her husband's death. What a pleasant perspective for a gentle, loving heart to be able to deliver her personality only through the death of a being who is beloved! In spite of the rebellion aroused in women, and even in men, by certain laws, their abolition is still delayed. Years

of struggle and of propaganda have not yet endowed France with that law of salvation for woman, the guardian of the dignity of man: the absolute and complete separation of the fortunes of the husband and the wife. Yet how many countries have admitted it before us: Austria in 1811, Italy in 1875, Turkey in 1876, England in 1882, Australia in 1884, not to mention Russia, where this law has been in force for a long time, and forty States in North America, which adopted it in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The more a country is delivered up to the government of professional politicians, the more urgent and inevitable to woman becomes her participation in the political vote. In the course modern democracies are following, the ballot will not fail to become the supreme arbiter of the destinies of the nations. Instead of squandering her powers by pursuing the partial destruction of all the injustices which encumber her route, the French woman, and with her the women of all other countries, should, first of all, enter into the possession of their electoral rights. It is by the imposition of her will that woman will effect the triumph of that justice on which the happiness of both sexes depends.

France which, whether rightly or wrongly, has been considered a country that is backward on the subject of her ideas of woman, has just awakened in her turn. The conquests made by women during these latter years are thoroughly surprising. The breaches that she has effected in public opinion are really much more considerable than the modifications in all the Codes that govern the statutes of women in France.[1] This

[1] See on this subject: *La charte de la femme* (The Charter of Woman) by Jean Finot, *suivie d'une enquête sur le vote politique des femmes en*

is plainly proved by an inquiry concerning the opinion of the men who most fully represent French mentality. The most eminent minds were consulted upon the serious question of the vote. Care was taken not to address the friends of woman, but only all those who would have the courage to give their views frankly in any direction whatever. All the answers have been distinctly favourable to the political equality of woman. Among the authors of these replies were liberals and reactionaries, sociologists, playwrights, novelists, scientists, men of thought and men of action, physicians, lawyers, judges, deputies and senators, heads of government of the past or the future; and all, with scarcely an exception, admitted on principle the justice of the cause, while making reservations concerning the expediency of its complete or partial realisation.

The arguments employed on this occasion are those used always and everywhere. Women submitting to social burdens, we are told, should have the right of voting upon and controlling these. The suffrage called universal will really become so only when the difference between the sexes is ignored. There is equivalence, and consequently equality of rights between the two halves of the human race.

Capacity, we are told, and not sex, should give the right to vote. "The woman's vote will bring the triumph of the laws for the social protection of childhood, of woman, of old men, of the race threatened by alcoholism, syphilis, tuberculosis."

France (Followed by an Investigation of the Political Vote of Women in France), a pamphlet published by the *Union Française et l'Alliance internationale pour le suffrage des femmes* (French Union and International Alliance for Woman Suffrage).

We are also told that women have interests distinct from those of men, "that after seeing the use that men make of the ballot, there is no great risk of falling into anything worse by trusting it to woman." M. Jules Claretie maintains with infinite clearness the argument that, if she does not vote, she often influences votes, but that perhaps she would vote differently from those who vote for her. A professor of law develops the idea that woman, in fulfilling all the social duties, ought to vote if the vote is a *right*. And if voting is a *duty*, women will introduce into its exercise more morality and greater intelligence.

From all the opinions is evolved a serene faith in the future of woman and also in that of man who, thanks to the aid which his companion will bring to him in the political domain, will have more worthy representatives and more humane laws.

A single apprehension seems to paralyse, in all convinced republicans, their sympathy for the political equality of the two sexes. All appear to tremble before the religious spirit of woman which will not fail to throw her into the arms of the priests!

An instinctive and base fear with some, it is only a necessary precaution with others. In any case, it betrays the anxiety that is felt for the solidity of the foundations of free thought. Its victory seems paltry and exposed to the hostile currents of all the winds. The most enlightened minds fear for its future, because they believe it to be ever tottering upon its supports.

When we observe the incessant vacillation of liberal and reactionary ideas in France, we draw from it one argument the more in favour of the rights of woman. It is that in our days we are not anxious to force woman

to the ideal of the free thinkers. We have always contented ourselves with imposing it upon her. But let woman appreciate freely her own value. Render it easy for her to come into contact with the realities of daily life. Permit her to weigh the crimes and the virtues of every one, and then trust to her judgment based upon her good sense and her sane conception of life. Perhaps she will be less accessible to the fallacious promises of a specific heaven, when she can understand better the machinery of the earthly life. She will not, on that account, be less religious. She will only become less superstitious.

In this cruel and incessant conflict between the need to believe and the abuse of creeds, woman will perhaps be able to bring the remedy to heal our bleeding wounds and calm our doubting reason. Bending in her turn over the most serious problem which weighs upon the human race, she will understand, through reconciling her faith with that of man, how to drive away superstition in part, if not to banish it definitely from our firesides by establishing a faith of divine elevation.

But, whether this danger is real or imaginary, it does not authorise those who make use of the name of justice and free thought, to condemn woman in advance to punishment for a fault . . .which she might commit in a more or less distant future.

When this apprehension is once destroyed in the mind of republican France, it will no longer prevent her rulers from granting to woman the rights which flow logically from the spirit of our constitution and the vitality of our democracy. Already the best men among the republicans, having understood the danger

and the immorality of this delay, have taken the initiative in accelerating the progress of events.[1]

We may note that men, even those least imbued with anti-feminist prejudices, willingly admit the right to vote but not the eligibility to office of woman.

A fragile and delicate being, woman would do wrong to seek to expose herself to the incivilities and the vulgar quarrels which disturb the assemblies of men. Emotional and a prey to her feelings, they also say, she will readily allow herself to be drawn into excesses of speech which lower human dignity and will be harmful. The base political bargaining practised in all parliaments cannot glide over, without sullying, the feminine conscience. Discredited and lowered, woman will lose the qualities which make her esteemed and beloved. With the charm and the practical spirit which characterise woman, she will easily hold sway over the will of men, who will be reduced to the part of simple supernumeraries guided by women who are rarely superior, but almost always beautiful, coquettish, and bold.

There are even in reserve juridical arguments drawn from the common law. The sovereignty of the people, it is maintained, requires that all the members of the nation may be represented in its counsels, but it by no means demands that all the electors can elevate

[1] We know the favourable report made in the name of the committee on universal suffrage seeking to grant women the right to vote.

This committee, presided over by a famous free-thinker, M. F. Buisson, to whom the third republic owes the organisation of secondary instruction, granted to woman, by a transient measure, the municipal vote. But from this time, the most prominent deputies in the Chamber organised with a view of demanding the logical complement of this measure, namely, the legislative vote, the ability to elect preceding the right of being elected.

themselves to all the representative offices. All should vote, say the most generous minds, but only certain privileged persons can and should be elected. Naturally, the privileged person, the master, must be the man. However, declare the very gallant partisans of the woman who ought to vote but is not eligible for election, if woman should not enter Parliament it is simply because she is too good for Parliament.

These arguments cannot long resist the good sense and just right of women. How, for instance, can the doors of Parliament be closed to women on the pretext that the supreme institution, where the laws governing the life and death of the citizens are framed, has been transformed by men into a sort of place of ill-fame where coarseness of language is on a par with the abasement of honesty? Logically, woman ought to see herself authorised all the more to be a part of such body, since she can cherish the legitimate hope of elevating the dignity of assemblies of men. Detractors of parliamentarism, who have found nothing better with which to reform this worm-eaten institution, ought rather to anticipate its amendment, thanks to the active intervention of women.

I remember a singular conversation I once had with Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul. The eminent prelate, who founded many hopes upon the return of women to political life, told me this fact, which affords food for thought. In one of the cities of Wyoming, in which alcoholism had made extensive ravages, the question of bars and of their fatal influence upon the increase of the drunkards in the city had been discussed for years. Doubtless these arguments would have continued still longer, had not the good fortune of the little

city permitted the election of a woman as mayoress. As soon as she came into office, she had all the liquor shops closed. Nothing alarmed her—neither the outcries of the frequenters of these establishments, nor the threats of their owners. A few months later, the agitation ceased. Everything became quiet, crimes diminished and the city had no more drunkards. The remedy was very simple, but it had to be discovered. There is something comical in seeing thus opposed to the futile babble of men, one short, decisive act of a woman.

Who knows whether the future parliamentarism, in which women will have their part to play, may not have in store for us similar surprises?

After all, the same arguments which militate in favour of the vote for women plead also from the standpoint of their eligibility for election. Why should we inflict upon them the humiliation or the sorrow which rests only on men sentenced for crimes against the common law, upon idiots, and upon the insane? Why should the law, which does not deprive of the possibility of becoming a deputy a servant dismissed for an unscrupulous action, a man lacking primary education, a tricky financier, a spendthrift who, after squandering his own fortune, will afterward waste that of the entire nation—why should this law deprive of such primordial right the women, because they are women?

Is not eligibility for office also a function of sovereignty? Why should it be wrested from women even when they are allowed to vote as citizens, incarnating the said sovereignty?

How much more logical appear the adversaries of woman who on the pretext of her inferiority refuse her all her rights! When the postulate of the inequality

of the sexes is abandoned, the step which separates us from the equality of their rights must certainly be crossed.

Have women an interest in being eligible for election? Assuredly, yes. In the first place, it is the rational and inevitable complement of the right to vote. Practically we are never so well defended as by ourselves. Already we are complaining of representatives who, instead of watching over the interests of the public, watch only their own affairs and simply exploit those of others. But the interests of men and of women in industry, and also in the moral domain, are not always the same. Consequently, woman has numerous motives for being able to defend herself. On the other hand, in the name of her dignity, she could not accept this situation of inferiority which nothing justifies.

Justice, reason, and interest being on the side of woman's eligibility for office, it is beyond question that, sooner or later, it will be granted.

She must always reckon with the pusillanimity of man, and especially that of woman herself. In our fear of innovation, we often exaggerate its consequences and its importance. Justice has likewise its degrees, through which it passes slowly in the same way as truth, which often imitates the rising of the sun.

It moves with deliberation, reveals its beauty methodically, and makes us benefit progressively by its salutary heat.

How much space has been traversed since the period when a man like Gladstone, while convinced of the justice of the cause, did not fear to oppose it on the ground of the dangers which mankind would incur through woman's entrance into public life! According

to the Grand Old Man, woman must lose in it her delicacy, her purity, and the elevation of her feelings, nay, even her charms.

At the present day, scarcely any orator would dare to urge arguments similar to those employed by one of the most prudent minds barely fifty years ago. This radical change of reasoning implies also the profound change of feelings inspired by the broadening of the life and the mind of the new woman.

It is especially delightful to us to point out this transformation of opinion in France which has been the great initiator of the feminist movement. It is she, also, who has called forth the first cries in favour of justice for women. With the sentiment of sociability and humanity which is characteristic of her, she has not worked solely for the French woman, but for the women of every country. Just as the great Revolution had in view the deliverance of all the peoples who were oppressed by their governments, and the rescue of all men irrespective of the colour of their skins or the value of their creeds, the first women, as well as the first men who have laboured in France in behalf of woman, have had in view not only the French woman, but the women of all nations.

From France went forth the first appeal and the first crusades against the masculine fetich, and it would be just that France, among the great nations, should be first to proclaim the political and social equality of the two sexes. Delayed by a series of misfortunes which have made her deviate from her glorious path, France is recovering herself and understands better and better that she ought not to allow herself to be distanced by other nations when the purpose is to repair injustice

and to break through prejudices and time-honoured absurdities.

To France belongs the duty of leading woman toward that new humanity which will be born with her entrance into the public life of the peoples. A mysterious bond seems to attach the destiny of France to the majesty of the future human race. Both are imbued with the same ideas of justice, the same aversion to brute force, the same enthusiasm for the beautiful and the good, the same hopes for the triumph of the noble ideas that will cause the development of the social conditions of the future.

Let us hope that France will have the honour of guiding woman in her way toward the conquest of the powers, and that woman, in her turn, will be able to aid France to the realisation of the ideas which to her are dearest.

Thanks to this tacit alliance which needs neither contracts nor deeds, and in which will take part the nations and the men who commune in the same ideal of peace and of the elevation of the human race, woman will move on quietly, supported by beauty and reason, toward the greatness and the harmony of the two sexes.

IV. Nativity and the So-called Instinct of Maternity. After having granted to woman the broadest access to intellectual life, we must necessarily resolve to go to the end of her demands. Incomplete rights make incomplete beings. Dissatisfaction is the mother of indifference and ill-will. Women who possess the mentality of men, and who are deprived of their rights, become indifferent to the lofty aims of societies and native countries.

The diminishing birth-rate in all the countries which are far advanced in civilisation is one of the significant manifestations of this fact. France, in this respect, has merely preceded her neighbours. England and Germany are already marching behind her, and they will be followed by other nations. This phenomenon is the result of complex causes, but the absence of any social and political responsibility in women undoubtedly plays a prominent part.

The decreasing birth-rate has been attributed to alcoholism and to poverty. Certain French provinces, such as the Tarn-et-Garonne and Gers, where alcoholism and poverty do not exist, yet where the births do not cease to diminish, prove the contrary. On the other hand, poverty, alcoholism, impiety, or superstition, adapt themselves as well to an over-abundant birth-rate as to a very small one. It is the same with debauchery or the triumph of free morals. Can their causes be found in a physiological deterioration and abasement of the race?

According to the calculations of Professor Lannelongue, French sterility, arising from physiological ills, is stationary. In 1856 it was 18 per cent, in 1891 it was only 17 per cent. Since that date, it has varied only on a very small scale, and as, from the physiological standpoint, nothing prevents the French woman from giving birth to more children, the causes can be solely of a psychological and social nature. The case is the same in the other countries.

We live a little too much under the influence of a dogma which is as ancient as the world, a dogma which declared woman to be under the exclusive domination of her instinct or her need of maternity.

Sovereign and preponderating, its power is nevertheless threatening to crumble. It is sufficient to observe the numerous types of the new woman. The English spinsters, whose number now reaches several millions, confess that they can, without difficulty, dispense with the asserted necessity of bringing children into the world, or of watching with solicitude over the children of others.

The animal kingdom furnishes us very frequently with the same phenomenon of the disappearance of maternal tenderness in the feminine sex.

Among many species of fish, the females give up the joys of watching over their offspring and relinquish this task to the males. In fresh waters, the males make the nests, and the females take no care of these. The males themselves even carry the eggs of the females. The Hippocamps place them in pouches hidden under their abdomens; the Siluridæ offer them hospitality in their mouths; the males of the Loricaria conceal them under their lower lips.

The birds, in their turn, afford various examples of the indifference to or even the complete absence of, maternal feelings in the females. Among certain gallinaceous fowls, among the bird runners, among the waders, and the apteryx, the male assumes the whole or a part of the efforts which incubation requires. The male nandu and ostrich do the same. Lastly, there are the pigeons, among which the male bird not only helps in the brooding, but also feeds the young with a secretion of his œsophagus.

Animal sociology teaches us nothing concerning the voluntary diminution of the birth-rate. The life of our lower brothers and sisters is full of uncomprehended and unsuspected dramas. But let us pass on.

The indifference displayed by certain females of the animal world toward their young ought to serve us as a lesson. We must not trust too much to so-called instincts; above all, let us not term these instincts invincible so long as they bow to the influence of surrounding conditions.

The question of the diminished birth-rate interests for the moment only certain countries, but the time is not distant when it will become of world-wide importance. In the United States, the moment is already foreseen when, if the immigration should slacken, the white population might be imperilled by that of colour. Perhaps, if the diminution of the birth-rate should continue in the same proportions, the Europeans will be submerged some day by the yellow races.

Undoubtedly militarism, with the ramification of its effects, weighs upon the birth-rate. But, created and maintained by man, militarism and its monstrous abscess, armed peace, have no chance to disappear so long as man retains the monopoly of power. Woman, in sharing power, will cause the triumph of a different fiscal and social legislation, planned to benefit the mothers and the children.

Material anxieties undeniably furnish the most formidable factor in checking births. The fear of not having sufficient to feed and rear the children acts for the discouragement of the poor. But the so-called rich are often only people ashamed of their poverty. Their pecuniary ambitions so far surpass their means that they find themselves, for that reason, extremely miserable. We are really rich only when we have no need of what we lack. In the present social state, however, legislation only inflames the appetites of the rich, while

not disturbing itself sufficiently over the hunger of the poor. The unhappiness below corresponds with the misery above. It is in the desire for too much money, or in the fear of not having enough of it, that the mysteries of depopulation now burdening all the civilised nations are often concealed.

An entire world of facts and thoughts remains to be modified or created. The harmonious collaboration of the two sexes thus obtrudes itself not only as advantageous, but principally as indispensable. For lack of the salutary principles of the vanished past, or of weakened religion, duties must be made to rest upon new foundations. By compelling woman to come more into contact with the social and political life of her native country, by rendering her more responsible for its benefits and its misfortunes, we shall broaden her mind and beautify her duties. A participation in the inmost needs of the nation will inspire in woman the necessity of contributing to their realisation.

It is only the plenitude of rights which imposes and gives birth to the totality of duties.

B—In the Other Countries

On parallel lines with the movement in France, feminism is working, stirring, and developing in the other countries. Its victories are now considerable in nations as divergent through their government as through their civilisation or their historic past. It would be wearisome to enter into the details of this movement or to mention the most praiseworthy names of those who have taken part in the struggle. We may confine ourselves to stating that the phases of the

conflict are everywhere somewhat similar. Mankind drinks from the same springs of thought, is guided by the same ideas, and disturbed by the same anxieties which have given to it the same religions, the same intellectual treasure of the past, the same humanitarian dreams, the same delusions. Woman has had cause everywhere to complain of her fate, for everywhere man has proclaimed himself her master and guardian. General analogies sometimes yield to differences of environment. Under the influence of special causes, the feminine movement triumphs more or less quickly and assumes appearances in harmony with the conditions of the country.

In Norway, for instance, where woman has played a great part in connection with recent political action, and contributed not a little to the separation of Norway from Sweden, she has received a large and prompt reward. Finland, which has always had to endure the consequences of Russian despotism, has shown herself equally attentive to feminist claims, and has granted woman, without difficulty, political rights. Certain States of North America, disgusted with the venality of politicians and their inaction in the social domain, have sought and are hoping to find a help for their ills in the vote of the women. New Zealand, less enslaved by the time-honoured principles of an ancient social and political organisation and consequently free from so many fetters which prevent the European nations from renovating the framework of their existence, has in this respect outstripped all the other countries. At the end of a few years of active and intelligent propaganda, woman has won her cause there in all the principal points of her programme.

But the most important matter concerning the future of woman is the results of the conflict for her rights in England and in the United States. The solidarity of the civilised world aiding, it is beyond question that the victory of the English and the American women would hasten the triumph of feminism throughout the world.

I. The English Movement. The origins of this movement are of distant date, and it might be necessary, perhaps, to credit to the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft the first signal of the awakening of the English woman. The *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* appeared in 1792, and as in a number of preceding works, we note in it a profound comprehension of woman's interests. We find also the plenitude of the programme which, launched at a moment when woman had no admitted rights, claims for her advantage all those which are due to her in the name of human dignity.

This little work, which had its inspiration from the opposite side of the Channel, was conceived under the influence of the movement which already numbered in France protagonists of both sexes.

Since Mary Wollstonecraft, the feminist cause in England has undergone the caprices of fortune. Sometimes it acquired the sympathy of men and seemed to be marching along the path of continued triumphs; and again the blows of sudden tempests appeared to reduce to insignificance the victories realised. But the idea, invincible because it is just, was developing, and, in spite of the vicissitudes of fate, is still advancing toward its decisive victory.

Several memorable dates deserve to be emphasised in this struggle for feminine emancipation.

In 1824, the English philosopher, James Mill, succeeded in dealing the feminist cause a grievous blow. The question of admitting women to Parliament was already agitating deeply many minds. Mill, with a reasoning based upon a certain false good sense which impresses the crowd, succeeded in paralysing for a long time the sympathy that had been awakened for equal suffrage. Starting from the standpoint of the solidarity of the interests of both sexes, James Mill turned into ridicule the desire to have the same wants and the same interests twice represented.

By a curious historical fatality, the task fell upon the son to expiate the error committed by the father. John Stuart Mill threw himself into the struggle with heroic ardour; his love of justice, seconded by his great talent, dictated to him luminous pages upon the political and social part of woman.

As Member of Parliament, Mill defended, from 1865 to 1869, with rare eloquence, the necessity of granting the vote to woman. As President of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, he demanded, on the occasion of a reform in the English electoral law, its extension to certain categories of women, who, as heads of families or tax-payers, had the right to share in the national politics. His proposition was rejected by a majority of 86 out of 252 voters. Twenty years later, Gladstone took up the same campaign, but also without success.

By one of those strange caprices not infrequent in Great Britain, the women who were openly repulsed from public life, mingle in it in an indirect but very

efficient manner. They have instituted two essentially political leagues each intended to combat or to sustain one of the two parties which share the government of Great Britain. On one side the Primrose League, which numbers about 50,000 militant members, on the other the *Women's Liberal Federation*, which has also gathered a very considerable number of followers. These leagues take part in political life, uphold or oppose candidates, and work for the triumph of their convictions.

This unofficial but active participation in the government of their country has considerably enlarged the experience and the political capacity of English women. In the relations with their fellows who have gathered from all quarters, they have learned to appreciate their aspirations toward more liberty and more equality for their sex. When, in 1889, a hostile wind again blew upon their demands in the form of a manifesto from the women themselves, directed against the "political woman," another manifesto, still more imposing, bore the signatures of the highest names in the English nobility, as well as those of fifteen prelates of the Church of England, and of the heads of many institutions in favour of votes for women.

The movement continues, and if it does not succeed at the first onset in destroying the prejudices of ages, it is disputing the ground with rare good fortune. For the victories of the English woman, though slow, are constant. While the bill granting the vote remains in abeyance, the women are daily securing substantial gains.

In 1869, they secured the municipal elective franchise, and a year later eligibility for election to school com-

mittees. The same year, married women gained the right to dispose of their income at their own pleasure. A little later, in 1882, according to a law concerning the property of married women (Married Women's Property Act), the separation of the property of the husband and the wife was established as a legal system.

In 1888, was granted the right of voting for County Councils. Six years afterward, the women also obtained the right of becoming electors and of being eligible for election to the Parish and District Councils, which gave them the invaluable advantage of filling the office of Justice of the Peace. We may add that the English married woman is permitted to testify in a court of justice. She can also serve as a witness in all registers of the municipality; and, as she can also dispose of her fortune, she finds herself in possession of almost the plenitude of her civil rights, while awaiting the time, which cannot be long delayed, when she will secure the full triumph of her political demands.[1]

This conquest cannot be long deferred, all the more because the English woman, far more than the other

[1] The historical session of the House of Commons on the 12th of July, 1910, which adopted the second reading of the bill securing the vote to women is most significant in this respect. The majority in its favour was 299 votes against 190. It is true that, in consequence of deplorable parliamentary tactics, this vote was rendered for the time a dead letter. The Commons, by resolving that the bill should be submitted for the third reading to all the members, without having granted for it any exact date, have showed that while doing homage to the principle, they are awaiting ratification by the people. What does that matter? The principle contested during so many years has issued from the conflict victorious. The heads of the Conservative and of the Liberal parties have had the opportunity to do justice to the reasons which call upon woman to vote.

women of the Continent, has taken care to attend to the instruction of her sisters who are summoned to other destinies. Thanks to her personal efforts, she has created an organisation of high schools for women which is unique of its kind.

A nucleus of genuine feminine universities, which is advantageously distinguished from American *colleges*, has been founded within a brief space of time. There are now six of these, with a respectable number of students and perfectly planned courses. Physical exercises closely follow serious studies, and very rapidly transform women, who become as robust as men, while frequently surpassing them from the intellectual standpoint.

To be admitted to these universities, young women must pass entrance examinations which require Greek, Latin, one modern language, and mathematics. The higher studies, based upon and copied from those of Oxford and Cambridge, show remarkable progress from the standpoint of the simplification of methods of instruction.

One of the characteristic features of these universities, among which Girton and Newnham of Cambridge, and Somerville and Lady Margaret at Oxford, have a European reputation, is the "political preparation" of the young students. *Debating clubs* have been established in which political and social questions of the day are discussed. The young women acquire from these a taste for public life, learn its attractions and its difficulties, and prepare themselves slowly and methodically to confront their position of electors and persons eligible for office which cannot be denied them by the near future.

II. In the United States, the Scandinavian Countries, and Elsewhere. The feminist movement in the United States has assumed prodigious proportions. Thanks to the special conditions under which American society is developing, woman has furnished the liberal professions there with a far larger contingent than elsewhere; she is, moreover, more richly represented in the national industries. This greater and greater participation of woman in the life of labour has resulted in the birth of a numerous and admirably organised feminist party, which demands as rights the counterpart of the duties which the American woman will henceforth perform.[1]

These equally persistent and complete demands have ended by becoming embodied under the most varied forms. Often purely economic, they pass through the entire scale of the claims made elsewhere and finish in organisations claiming the absolute equality of the two sexes.

A congress assembled at Cincinnati (Ohio) in 1910, represented about 800,000 American women, grouped under the banner of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. These clubs, scattered over the territory of the United States, are pursuing, with vigour and intelligence, the elevation of women in every sphere. Certain clubs devote themselves to feminine hygiene, and

[1] Here are a few figures. There are in the United States about two million women who are compelled to earn their living. Out of 303 professions practised in the United States, women are represented in 295. In New York alone, 30,000 women went on strike in the single industry of clothing, and gave evidence of the importance of their work in certain industries. In the iron and steel works in Pittsburgh are employed not less than 22,000 women. See Buteler, *Woman and Trades; Women in Industry*, by E. Abbott, etc.

aid to the poor and disinherited; others have in view only feminine culture under the form of discussions of the social, moral, or political affairs of the day; there are others which aim solely at obtaining political rights or at propagating the data of *Home Science*, the science of housekeeping, which is based upon the conquests accomplished by the other sciences united. These organisations, which have spheres of activity apparently so widely separated, seem to be bound by the same guiding idea—to elevate woman and to render her more worthy of the new royalty which is due and awaiting her. The Cincinnati Congress has revealed to them the unsuspected power of this union of women, who bear within them not only the children of the future but the whole destiny of the United States.

By the side of these powerful clubs, we see other feminine organisations born and flourishing. At their head march the societies which demand the political vote for women. The first meeting for this direction of effort took place in 1848, in the State of New York. Several hundreds of representatives of both sexes signed a *declaration of sentiment* in favour of the vote for women. This was the starting-point of an agitation which since that date has continued with more and more intense ardour. Under the name of *National Convention*, the friends of the political vote for woman meet every year. Soon a new *Equal Rights Society*, having separated from the first, carried on the campaign on its own account. When the War of Secession broke out, the latter society, abandoning its feminist demands, fought ardently in favour of the negroes, thus proving that the feminist cause is a cause essentially human, and rises above race prejudice. A series of other

political societies was launched later. One of the most important was the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, in connection with which, in 1890, several others were founded. This society now unites about thirty-eight organisations grouped in the different States. With this powerful society, act several auxiliaries, such as the *National College Equal Suffrage League* with its twenty-three branches, and the *Women's Political Union*, a progressive and aggressive suffrage organisation.

Certain States have their special societies. Thus the State of New York numbers about forty, of which one of the best known is the *Political Equality League*, founded by one of the ladies belonging to the society of the Four Hundred, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont. Besides the feminine societies, a Man's League has been formed in New York for the same object. At its head are several persons who are respected and influential in the United States. Students in certain universities have also manifested their sympathy for feminine demands, and have formed special leagues. However dissimilar these organisations may appear, their work tends toward the same goal. Their intelligent and persevering efforts have even already won the triumph of the feminine cause in several American States. Thus women share the political vote by the same right as men in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, California, and Idaho; they enjoy municipal rights in Kansas, and vote for school boards in twenty-six States.

Opposition is concentrating against the threatening demands of woman. We note among the most resolute adversaries of the new woman, the producers and sellers of alcoholic liquors. Women will have to reckon

more and more with the hostility provoked in this all-powerful circle by the antagonism found everywhere between alcoholism and the reign of the new woman. On the other hand, in the United States, as well as in England, there are feminine souls who, in their sincere attachment to the past, tremble before the political and social consequences which will be entailed by woman's entrance into public life. They are organising in their turn. But the opposition from this quarter, by increasing interest in the conflict, will only benefit the rising tide of feminism.

In other constitutional countries, the feminist movement numbers triumphs equally striking and sometimes even decisive. The Norwegian women have succeeded in crossing, within a few years, the long stages which everywhere separate woman from political emancipation.

The first feminist society in favour of woman's suffrage, *Kvindestemmerets Foreningen* (the Woman's Suffrage Union), was founded in 1885.

In 1890, this society took the initiative of a general petition of women. While it demanded the absolute equality of the two sexes, another society, with more regard to practical action, was founded, and confined itself to demanding things more easily accomplished. This division served the cause admirably by increasing the interest and the vivacity of the conflict. In 1898, universal suffrage for women was proclaimed, but in the Storthing the women obtained only 33 votes against 78.

The Norwegian women then began to work to obtain municipal rights. They gained their cause, a few years later, in consequence of the separation of

Norway from Sweden. The political tact which they displayed on this occasion, as well as their enlightened patriotism, deeply impressed the whole nation. To refuse them the right of a citizenship which they had so legitimately earned, would have been too unjust and too inhuman: the Norwegian nation recoiled from such monstrosity.

In Sweden, feminism is of quite recent date. Its genesis appears to be associated with the publication of the sensational romance, *Hertha*, by Fredrika Bremer, which appeared, in 1856. But the Swedish women regained the lost time very quickly. In turn the higher special schools, such as the *École Technique* (School of Technology) in 1858, as well as the ancient universities of Upsala and Lund, opened their doors to woman (in 1870). A few years after, the Swedish women succeeded in establishing several feminist societies, and their agitation aiding, obtained the passage of several laws sensibly modifying their situation. Swedish women now share in municipal elections; they are electors and may be elected to the school committees of primary education; they take part in the election of the General Councils and can serve on the administrative committees of public charities.

III. The German Woman. The German feminist movement does not appear to have reached the level of that which is manifesting itself in France. There are several causes which hamper the fight of the German women. History has some share in the matter, for before the establishment of the unity of the empire, feminism was necessarily forced into the background. Another reason is no less serious and still continues to exert

its influence. This is the solidarity between feminism and Socialism, which is far from being broken. The historical German evolution gives to Socialism not only an economic mission, but also that of a political liberator. While working for the enlargement of the rights of the individual, German Socialism is striving at the same time for the emancipation of woman. In no country in the world does this party number so many adherents as in Germany, and all that the doctrine gains in the feminine environment is lost in the same proportion by the strictly feminist party. But many of the most advanced German women anticipate winning the success of their integral programme with the final triumph of the Socialist party.

All this does not prevent the German women from working in favour of their social demands. The feminist movement, properly so-called, although of very recent date, reckons to its credit several significant victories. The first association of women worthy of the name was formed in Leipsic in 1865. The programme of the General Federation of German Women (*Allgemeiner deutscher Frauenverein*) founded by Mesdames A. Schmidt, H. Goldschmidt, Otto Peters, and Lina Morgenstern, claimed in its manifesto the right of woman to education, to work, and to the free choice of a career. The political side of the feminist aspirations was utterly neglected; but the large range of the social demands was to secure for the movement a great power of extension. By establishing a series of institutions which were to group all the women who worked either as simple operatives or as teachers, the leaders of the movement succeeded in giving to their demands a concrete and, for that very

reason, a powerful basis. A series of organisations, numbering thousands of members, came into existence, and they were able to secure for their dreams and their desires respectful consideration. Under the influence of the societies of teachers, the Prussian Government found itself compelled to enact the law of 1908 which opened to girls the colleges and the secondary schools. This example has been followed by the other federated states. New careers were gradually opened to feminine activity and we now find in Germany woman lawyers or physicians, as well as chemists, architects, or engineers.

At the same time, the feminist societies are multiplying, and the programmes inscribed upon their banners are broadening and growing richer. They are beginning to claim openly both civil and political equality. In 1901, they even formed an association whose object was the conquest of political rights. At the head of this *Verein für Frauen-stimmrecht* were Frau Cauer, to whose indefatigable labour the German women already owed the establishment of the famous *Frauenwohl*, the central society of the women of the German empire, Dr. Augspurg, Dr. Schirmacher, and Fräulein Heymann.

Under the impetus given by several energetic women, the German feminist societies are becoming more and more numerous and powerful. One of these societies, which enrols the maid-servants and work-women, has 140,000 members; another, which unites the commercial and manufacturing employees, has a membership of about 24,000.

Woman's entrance into German politics was inaugurated by the promulgation of the imperial law of

May 15, 1908. According to this law, women are authorised to join political societies and to attend sessions and public meetings. From this date they have taken a larger and larger share in the political activity of their husbands or their brothers. Their more and more perfected organisation, as well as the political maturity which they will not fail to gain in the exercise of their rights, will be able only to augment their powers and their influence.

Yet there is one dark spot which appears to threaten the triumph of the feminist cause in Germany. This is the religious separation with its train of hatreds and prejudices that also enter the domain of feminist demands. Thus we find unions of Protestant, Catholic, and even of Jewish women.

Thus the German women are divided not only from the standpoint of the ideas which they profess with regard to their demands, but also in what concerns the irreligious or social ideas. All this can only weaken the intensity of the movement. But let us hope that with time, as in France or in England, religious variations will disappear, and the German women will form one body, animated by the same desire to combat the prejudices of the past and to establish a government based upon the equality of the sexes.

IV. Feminist International Freemasonry. In the United States also arose one of the most curious organisations that the feminist movement has produced. This is the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Its origins were most modest, the first idea originating with Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton who, during her travels in Europe, made the acquaintance of several

eminent women who were connected with the cause. On her return to New York and in association with the leaders of the American movement, invitations were given for the first meeting of the International Alliance. We know the tremendous success of this Alliance, which numbers to-day followers in the whole world.[1] International meetings of the delegates took place every five years in one of the great cities of the Old or of the New World. The Alliance at the present time comprises twenty-two affiliated countries, with not less than seven millions of women registered as members.

The American Alliance alone has sixteen special leagues and nine local councils which, with a total of two hundred federated organisations, exceed three millions of members. All these affiliated unions develop independently of one another and have in common only their aspirations toward political equality with man. Thus they are developing in conformity with the laws and customs of each country. By taking into account only local conditions, they have their own method of action and can conform on every occasion to their national interests.

The purpose of the International Alliance will be to break up all the prejudices of races and of religions. For the Anglo-Saxon countries where the belief in the moral and intellectual inferiority of men of colour seems so deeply rooted, the admission upon a footing of equality of the women of every race constitutes an act of courage worthy of all praise.

In preaching the deliverance of woman, the International Alliance has striven especially to free the feminine mind from prejudices degrading to human

[1] The Alliance was actually founded by Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs C. C. Catt, four years after the death of Mrs. Stanton.

dignity. What an example of lofty morality woman thus gives to man! While he, though proclaiming the fraternity of human beings and the worship of the divine truth which commands him to love his neighbour, does not cease to despise or to make war upon the races he regards unjustly as inferior, woman rises at once above her companion, and summons to the common deliverance all women without regard to the colour of their skin or their nationality. The preamble which precedes the constitution of the International Council, so noble in its grasp, greatly honours woman:

Preamble to the Constitution of the National Council of Women.

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organised movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law.

Conclusion. It would be useless to follow the feminist evolution in the other countries. The same enthusiastic activity is taking possession of all women. It assumes various forms according to the special temperaments of the peoples and their political organisation.

In Germany, where the "equality" propaganda numbers among its leaders and followers women of very great intellectual and moral breadth, the movement rests chiefly on the socialist party, which promises to set free, with the same action, labour in general and woman in particular. Feminist demands in Russia

follow closely the efforts for the political liberation of the nation. The heroic participation of the Russian women in the revolutionary movement has fi led with admiration even those who do not share their belief and who repel with indignation their methods of action. The devotion of these revolutionary women to an idea, their heroism, and the anonymous sacrifice of their lives, recall the most touching sufferings which the Christian woman had to endure in honour of her faith.[1] This "close union" between the emancipation of the Russian woman and the freeing of her native country appears at the present time to be more tender and more passionate than ever.

The Italian women are developing in a direction similar to that which is appearing in France.

We may note, also, that the international societies, as well as the periodical congresses, tend to render the feminist organisations more and more homogeneous, while leaving them entire liberty to develop in harmony with the political and social conditions of their respective countries.

The facts collected and cited previously prove sufficiently the constant and parallel progress of the feminist victories in every land, and, what is more important, they make clear that, before the rising tide of feminist demands, all resistance would be vain and futile.

The number of women engaged in industry and in every sort of work outside of the home is constantly increasing, and in accordance with this proportion, whose numbers are more and more disturbing, the

[1] See on this subject the very eloquent pages which Mme Paola Lombroso devotes to them in her *Carátteri della Femminita.*

number of women engaged in the feminist movement does not cease also to augment. More than five millions of English women are now working in manufactures, in trade, and in other provinces outside of their homes. Almost the same condition exists in the United States where the number of teachers alone reaches the figure of 350,000. In France there are about two millions of women in the industries: a million and a half in agriculture, and more than 600,000 in trade.

This phenomenon of the woman being compelled to earn her living outside of her home is becoming universal. The implacable logic of facts is exerting its powers even in the countries where, for twenty centuries, civilisation has sheltered woman from the exigences of daily life. Japan and China, as soon as they entered the pale of modern civilisation, also saw women forced inevitably toward occupations pursued away from the hearthstone.

In proportion as woman is compelled to seek her living outside, she returns to the home with a mind disturbed by the injustices of which she sees herself the object. The Japanese woman, as well as her sister in China, is now claiming her share of rights and privileges. She perceives, and also resents, the injustice of man who, according to the words of Victor Hugo, "had made all the rights turn to his side and all the duties to the side of the woman." An almost inevitable law is seen in these considerations. If, on one hand, modern life compels woman to leave the paternal or the conjugal roof, it enjoins upon her, in her turn, the unavoidable necessity of profiting, with the same right as man, by equality before the law.

There would be perhaps one way to lessen the extent of feminine demands: namely, to secure to every adult woman the possibility of creating a family, and also to spare the married woman from the necessity of earning her living outside the home. This would, however, also have rendered impossible the higher education of woman, in order to prevent her from feeling her condition of inferiority. But to reach that point, it would be requisite, in the first place, to destroy the progress of industrialism, to destroy pauperism and militarism, and to reform the mentality and the material existence of man, which predispose him to celibacy. In his powerlessness to annul the causes which render feminism victorious, man has no other resource than to grant woman the laws and the rights which with, or against, him, she will understand how to conquer.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEATH AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE ETERNAL FEMININE

UPON the radiant background of the activity of the woman of the future, lovers of the past cast a confusing gloom. What will woman be when she is deprived of the virtues which have rendered her the adored and desired sweetheart of man? Her principal charm lay in her seclusion from active life and in the absence of that devouring activity which lowers or elevates her companion. Having entered the lists of life's combats, will she not lose the qualities which characterise femininity? Will not her incessant transformation destine her to fall irretrievably from the heights upon which she has been placed by man? Invincible mirage of our senses! Before the visible results of a simple change, our fear of the future makes us dread formidable powers of destruction. Misoneism, that horror of novelty, belongs to every age. Man feels it always and everywhere in the presence of the changes in persons and things. These apprehensions, which seem innate, have a touch of pathos. They should be soothed instead of exasperated, for we do not rage against the primitive forces of nature. Yes, the eternal feminine *is* in the act of changing form and substance, and the political and social woman will undoubtedly be unlike the "domestic

woman," just as the man of the paleolithic period differs from the man of the neolithic, but she will not cease on that account to be woman. She cannot dispense with certain qualities which constitute her charm, for, sexual life continuing to exist, woman must guard the attractions which are capable of winning love and of securing the continuation of the race. But—is not the stranger whom we fear already seated victoriously by our side,—among us?

I. The Falsehood and the Cunning of Woman. What is the eternal feminine? What are her virtues and her charms? A peculiar fragrance emanates from these, but it is infinite because it is indefinable. In any case, the weakness of woman enters into it largely. As opposites attract, the Man-Force went toward the Woman-Child or the Woman-Slave. And woman had their faults and their vices. Like all feeble and oppressed creatures, she almost always had recourse to falsehood and to cunning. Her catlike grace seemed to synthesise the mysteries of her soul and the direction of her life. The poets who deified her did not cease to see in her the power of falsehood and treachery. The laws of masculine honour seemed in every age foreign to her. The heavenly joys which woman afforded man have been poisoned, from the first murmurs of love, by the lack of what is called virile honesty. At least this is the opinion of man, who has undertaken to transmit to posterity the merits and the misdeeds of both sexes. But man adapted himself with disdain to the falsehoods of woman, as we adapt ourselves to the thorns which are the inevitable companions of the rose.

Yet in proportion as woman ascended in the social

scale, her soul broadened in its turn. Ceasing to be a slave, she has lost, and is continuing to lose, its essential stigmata: the cowardice of falsehood. Woman is becoming more sincere. Far from hypocritically enduring her inferiority, she is openly claiming her rights. She raises her own head and now makes that of her master droop. She is invading many careers which form the sphere heretofore exclusively reserved for man.

Physician, lawyer, writer, employee, head of a business concern, journalist, she is distinguishing herself by the solid qualities which render her feared and respected by man; and everywhere she shows a professional honesty which no longer has anything in common with falsehood, the age-long attribute of woman. And since virtue is often as contagious as vice, veracity appears to be possessing more and more the feminine mind. The Woman-Satan, the jewel of poets and of novelists, and the bugbear of their readers, amusing herself by torturing the heart of man and sinking him in her numberless and often aimless lies, has become an anachronism. Under the influence of the best of the women who are working and thinking, the level of feminine life is everywhere rising. The modern woman desires, far more than her predecessors, to be an upright human being rather than a perverse goddess. She respects truth and appropriates the true sentiments of honour.

That which constitutes the genuine beauty of life is the kingdom we establish in it through truth. The essential worth of human beings lies in their moral supremacy. Regarding existence with the seriousness that suits those liberated from a slavery as old as the world, woman is comprehending better and better that her

equality with man can reside only in a more serene, more lofty morality than that of man. The future of the human race depends chiefly upon this noble rivalry between the two sexes and, were it only with the view of extending the reign of truth upon earth, all the careers of man should be opened to woman.

In the interval, woman will doubtless continue to deceive, to betray, to lie. Yet let us do her the justice to admit that she does this almost as much as man, while awaiting the blessed moment when the really strong woman will distance him on the road of truth.

Thus the eternal feminine has met a genuine obstacle. Insensibly, she whom we have admired in her weakness has emerged from the prison in which we believed her to be forever enclosed.

II. A New Conception of Beauty. The fugitive has brought with her some radically modified conceptions. That of beauty, formerly the exclusive badge of her domination, is particularly injured. Physical beauty, that rare privilege which is wholly independent of our will and our merit, gives place in some degree to intelligence, a halo easier to conquer and more lasting to preserve. Aiming to profit chiefly by the fruits of reason, woman desires to acquire all its advantages. She is weaving crowns of thought, energy, health. She often replaces, and almost always completes, the royalty of features by elegance, that royalty of taste. Wit and intelligence, those divine levellers of the injustices of fate, frequently replace absent beauty, and man submits to this gradual transformation of woman without suspecting its importance.

Yet he is always talking about "the eternal feminine";

he even kneels before the age-long idol, while forgetting that the object of his worship has changed in body and soul. Like the traveller lost in the forest, he is enraptured by the stirring melodies of a hunting horn which, long since reduced to silence, is now heard only in its dying echoes.

III. Woman Transformed. Nothing is more difficult than to observe the changes which are taking place within us and by our side. And this is why we see better the transformations effected during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as our heirs of the twenty-second will give a better account of the evolution accomplished through the ideas of our contemporaries.

To appreciate the woman of our own times, let us regard her by whom she was preceded. Laying aside the psychologists and the novelists whose documentation is often doubtful, let us pause before the portraits of our ancestresses, as compared with those of the present day. A mere glance will show us that some thing has changed in the psychology of their faces for their souls are no longer the same. The most famous artists, Titian, Holbein, Reynolds, all bear witness to that vague and indescribable timidity which characterised our ancestresses. Their eyes are almost downcast. An instinctive humility appears in their countenances. Alone before the great artist who must immortalise her face, far from her master and husband, the young wife of former times cannot free herself from that expression of subjection, fixed in every line of her body. However divine her look may be, we read in it the mute supplication of a weakling who needs to be protected and caressed. Angel or fiend, she always belongs to

the dominated beings. Moreover, it is thus that imagination summons or re-creates her. Poets, sculptors, and painters all sing and deify her as a goddess subject to the will of man. And yet, the women concerned then belonged only to the ruling classes, from which were recruited almost exclusively the models of the portrait painters of former days.

But, at the social summit, woman was far more respected. Often she even rose to the level of man. The iconographic documents of bygone ages, when they refer to the woman of the people, impress us still more by the expression of inferiority or of weakness which they bestow. Compare with these portraitures those of our own times. In vain should we seek in them that instinctive timidity, that fright of a subaltern who, even when raised to the level of the master, does not adapt himself easily to his privileged situation. The majesty of the new woman strikes us even in the portraits of the anti-feminists who show themselves the most rebellious to her conquests.

The artists, faithful to the reality, bestow upon the women who pose before them charms hitherto unknown. Most of these women have faces with frank, proud glances, the gaze of conquerors or of beings who are summoned to conquer. The pride of victories already gained, and of the further triumphs awaiting them in the near future, is displayed in their faces. Far from concealing the thoughts that absorb her, the woman of our days proclaims these, makes them her ornament. There is no submission in her eyes, for there is none in her mind. The Lady of will and of thought, she ceases to be the Lady of the alcove, the docile instrument of a master's caprices.

Notice her in the drawing-room or in the street. One would say that her walk has changed; from a dawdling step, her pace has become energetic. She has ceased to be a doll. A prey to the work of renovation which has transformed her, she envelops herself in the assurance, the energy of breaking new paths. This woman, who is no less, but differently, beautiful, is still awaiting the lyres which must sing her praises, for the belated poets are still moved by her shadow in the past.

This fact is so general that it has become almost imperceptible. The things which affect the community of men remain unperceived, especially by those very persons who are in permanent contact with them. Yet this modification of woman is appearing everywhere, under all latitudes, in all the degrees and stages of civilisation. From every quarter the same cry reaches us: Woman is making her way out of the old beaten paths. French, Scandinavian, Chinese, Turkish, or Japanese women are rushing consciously or unconsciously toward the kingdom of the new woman.

As peoples in whom already seethes the desire to free themselves adopt before the decisive hour, though still subject, the demeanour of their masters, the woman of the present day will henceforth assume the aspect of her new sovereignty. The feminine soul thus finds itself transformed. Broadened and beautified according to the innovators, turned aside and injured according to her friends of former days, she has changed her way, for the eternal feminine constantly alters its mysterious expression.

One consideration impresses itself and renders all the others superfluous; this evolution of woman was and remains inevitable. In the violent upheavals which are

effected in modern society, could woman remain sheltered from every change? For what is the eternal feminine? Are there really immutable qualities which must forever separate the sexes? If so, what are these? The questions must be elucidated before discussing the ever-changing natures whose modifications, consequently, should neither disturb those who are thinking of the future, nor terrify those who think solely of the present. The comparative method is here to aid us to understand the phenomenon of femininity. It will suffice to seek it in the closely approximating sexual development of man, in that organic ladder whose evolution we are only reproducing.

IV. The Conventional Falsehoods of the Psychology of the Sexes. When we examine the life of the females in all the living worlds, we are struck with consternation at the spectacle which is presented to our eyes. Contrary to the assertion in the Bible, the female was not made at the expense of man, but often the process was precisely the opposite. Lester F. Ward[1] even teaches that the feminine organisation preceded the so-called stronger sex, and produced children before the period when the masculine element was associated with it in order to perfect the progress of human beings. To avoid losing ourselves in the labyrinth of sexual evolution, let us set aside the points associated purely with reproduction and give consideration to the secondary traits relating to the charms and the apparent distinctions of sexuality which are most susceptible of modification.

Darwin has expressed the opinion which is shared by

[1] *Pure Sociology.*

the majority of naturalists, that whenever the males and the females of a family, whatever they may be, have the same general habits of life, but differ from the standpoint of colour, conformation, or organisation, these differences are principally due to sexual selection. Certain males, for an uninterrupted series of generations, have had some trivial advantages over other males, proceeding either from their weapons, their means of defence, their beauty or their general attractions, advantages which they have transmitted exclusively to their male posterity.[1] In other words, a number of sexual distinctions are qualities acquired simply as the result of circumstances of the past which continue to multiply in the present.

Impressed by certain differences which separate the sexes, we believe these to be eternal. As, however, these differences have, in bygone ages, been produced by variable circumstances, they may disappear with the change in the conditions that gave them birth. In certain kinds of birds, the apparent sexual differences are almost imperceptible. In the wild rock-pigeon, no appreciable difference is found at any age between the two sexes. It is the same in certain breeds of cocks, such as the speckled Hamburgs, several white and black other breeds, and in the fighting cocks.

In certain galline sub-breeds, the hens are surprisingly like the cocks, which does not prevent them from reproducing. There is even one fighting breed in which the males and the females are so precisely alike that the cocks in the poultry-houses have often mistaken their adversaries for hens, a mistake which cost them their

[1] Darwin: *Origin of Species*. See also the same subject developed in his work, *The Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication*.

lives. Moreover, we see males lose some of their secondary characteristics and become hens again from the external point of view. The same phenomenon is observed in many species of animals. Sometimes certain minor characteristics which are not found in a state of nature appear; sometimes they are effaced under the influence of domestication.

J. F. Cunningham[1] maintains the argument that sexual differences usually correspond with the *habits* and the modes of life contracted and practised by the two sexes. This statement opens regions of investigation unsuspected by fervent supporters of sociological anticipations.

V. The Limits of Femininity. What will woman become with the change in her habits of living and of thought? While leaving the office of prophesying to the prophets, we will confine ourselves to showing that there is a considerable margin for future changes without serious risk to the essential qualities of femininity and the future of the species.

In the world of pigeons, in the *C. Livia* breed, for instance, the males and the females can be distinguished only with great difficulty, while in other varieties everything appears to differentiate them, commencing with the crop, and ending with the colour, the wattles of the head, and the eyes. As, in the state of nature, differences between the two sexes scarcely exist, their origins are consequently due to occasional circumstances.

In certain gallinaceous breeds, the cocks are endowed with that ornament of the hens, striped plumage. On the other hand, the males ought, logically, to wear the

[1] *Sexual Dimorphism in the Animal Kingdom.*

comb, but certain Spanish hens erect it with great dash, while it is lacked by the males. It is the male which should be imbued with warlike emotions; it is the male that should strut, be challenging and audacious. Several breeds of fighting hens do all this wonderfully well, and one (the *Hamburg hen*) is even adorned with magnificent plumage, usually reserved for the cocks.

If, in the bird world, the female of the eagle is often stronger than the eagle himself, or the female falcon is larger than the male, in the insect world this phenomenon impresses us by its frequency. And—a significant thing which should give masculine pride food for thought—in the world of the ants, the bees, and even in that of the spiders, which are distinguished for intelligence and foresight, it is the females that reign and govern.

The "eternal feminine," that combination of charms which must insure the perpetuation of the species, has therefore completely changed in external form and even in moral qualities. These breeds of hens, endowed with the properties of the males, continue to produce cocks, to the great satisfaction of the breeders.

In the vast animal scale we witness other anomalies no less singular. The essential characteristics of femininity are often merely simple peculiarities. Transmitted by heritage, they are implanted in the organism; under the influence of the conditions of the modified existence, they are modified in their turn and even disappear completely. We need only glance over the numberless instances quoted by P. Lucas and so many other specialists in heredity to avoid allowing ourselves to be too much disturbed by the disappearance or the change of minor characteristics in the two sexes. To

comprehend the trivial variations produced in woman, we have only to transport ourselves into the other living worlds Everywhere we shall derive the same assurance, that the majority of the sexual characteristics, outside of those relating to the immediate mechanism of reproduction, are only the changing results of changing circumstances.

Nature thus ignores the barriers which our imagination places between the two sexes. She ignores them as she ignores our conventional conceptions of beauty and ugliness, of attractive or distasteful objects. She brings flowers from filth, and consecrated bread from a repulsive dung-heap. May she not also seek to ask the sublime differentiation of the sexes from a little more or a little less nourishment? Claude Bernard has already proved how much alimentation, which comes to us from sources often so base, contributes to direct as mistress, almost exclusively, the destiny of the civilisation of men.

The substantial change in our life, occasioned by the alteration in economic conditions, the easier or more difficult maintenance of woman, has undoubtedly caused more transformations in the eternal feminine than all the declamations of the friends or the enemies of woman.

The ancient structure which sheltered a time-honoured state of affairs is crumbling into dust, and woman sees herself compelled to leave it, either preceding or following man. All those who are lamenting over the modified woman, appear to forget the modified man. They appear also to pay no heed to the solidarity of the life of the two sexes. The revolution accomplished in the social life of man is willingly admitted, but we remain blind to its reaction upon the life of woman.

VI. Work and Woman. Following man, woman also has entered the factory. The industrialism, machinism, and capitalism which have shaped the life of man, have also set their seal upon the development of woman. She is a victim to them for the same reason as man. And feminists even say that she suffers doubly. Now, it is our means of subsistence, the essential condition of our nutrition, which determines human personality. Among so many diverse elements of the surrounding environment, destined to form our "ego," work often plays a preponderating part. When we study the birth of races, we perceive how greatly the profession we follow, with its pleasures and its pains, reacts upon the essential parts of our bodies and our brains. There are often more anthropological distinctions between the wealthy and the proletarian class of the same country than between the wealthy class of the most distinct races and countries.[1]

The anthropology of the poor affords us alarming proofs upon this subject. The height of the poor is less than that of the well-to-do classes and this appears at all ages.[2] Everything varies according to the work and the comfort, commencing with the weight of the body and ending with the circumference of the head, which is smaller among the poor. From 424 in poor

[1] See on this subject *Préjugé des races* (Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine, Felix Alcan), 3d edition, in which I have cited numberless instances of the influences of the surrounding environment, which also comprises food, upon sexual evolution.

[2] 1.46 m. in height of poor children fourteen years old, and 1.50 m. in well-to-do children of the same age; 1.64 m. in the height of poor men, and 1.68 m. of the others. See on this subject, among others, the remarkable works of Professor Niceforo: *Biologische und ökonomische Untersuchungen über Pauperismus*, Biological and Economic Investigations of Pauperism, as well as *Forze e Richezza*, Strength and Wealth, etc.

children eleven years old, it rises to 533 in the children of well-to-do parents. The cranial capacity, calculated according to the method of Parchappe, which in poor children fourteen years old is 1.537, reaches 1.576 in children in comfortable circumstances. According to M. Bertillon *père*, the facial angle is slightly smaller in the children of the poor. Resistance to fatigue is greater among the children in easy circumstances (experience of Professor Pierrachini). In the vital manifestations of the poor and of the rich, the variations often assume unexpected and disturbing forms.[1] From birth to the boundary of life, everything appears to separate them; even the weight of the new-born infants is unfavourable to the poor and wretched.

The deformation observed among the masculine proletarians has also had its reflection on the feminine proletarians. But the social classes are mutually united. The deformations or the modifications have gradually invaded the type of the woman. The canon of physical beauty has imperceptibly altered, and the psychological modification has undoubtedly followed closely certain biological and physiological transformations.

A mysterious relationship unites bodies and souls. The implacable condition of life which has compelled woman to follow man into his often degrading and insanitary labour, has ended by gradually modifying the aspirations of her soul. While the rich woman often resembles the disturbing and sensual heroines of the contemporary novel, the woman of the poor classes, under the influence of suffering and hardship, has turned

[1] The studies made by M. Rowntree in England are most impressive in this respect.

her thoughts toward regions inaccessible to the woman of the people in former days.

But let us not forget that the woman classed as poor forms at least nine tenths of the number of women in general.

VII. The Degeneracy of the Rich Woman and of the Poor Woman. Two dangerous currents are sweeping the modern woman along. On the one side, domestic industry and occupations are becoming almost wholly superfluous. We have in view the essentially civilised countries. Drinks are no longer made at home, and the handling of milk and butter is abandoned to the industrial factories. The *sweating-system* prepares our undergarments and our outer clothing, while special machines provide for the neatness of the interior of our homes. In the large cities, there are window-cleaning companies, and also those which attend to the waxing of our floors.

The large shops succeed in furnishing women with gowns and garments at ridiculously small prices, and the idle woman of the well-to-do classes, having lost all inclination for work, becomes more and more a victim of the social parasitism with the train of evils by which it is accompanied.

On the other hand, the poor woman is thrust out of her home. Exploited physically and morally, she becomes the prey of the base passions of man or of the diseases which lie in wait for her, weaken her, and destroy with her the children whom she has the misfortune to bring into the world.

Woman thus finds herself attacked in all ways. She is degraded by idleness or she succumbs to poverty.

We have seen previously how the number of women who are forced to work hard to earn their living has increased within the last half century, almost everywhere, about 40 per cent.

But in industry, according to the estimates of Ch. Poisson (*Les salaires des femmes*), the maximum salaries of women, for equal work, do not reach half the maximum salaries of men; in agriculture, it is only two thirds, and—a more tragical fact—the salaries of the women, from the lump standpoint, show a tendency to decline, while the prices of the articles of the most absolute necessity do not cease to rise.

We may add that the number of unmarried women is everywhere steadily increasing. Even in the new countries, the reputed paradise of women, this phenomenon is becoming more and more disturbing. In 1890, in the United States, out of 1000 women between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine, there were 254 unmarried; in 1900 there were 275. The total number of unmarried women who had passed the age of twenty-five years in the United States in 1900 was 2,260,000. In some of the large cities, like Boston, out of 1000 women between twenty-five and twenty-nine years of age, 452 were unmarried.

In the same year of 1900, the total number in the United States of unmarried women beyond the age of eighteen and of widows reached 6,900,000! The European countries are in the same predicament. But single life is not woman's normal condition, and may be included, in the majority of cases, among the factors of her degeneracy.

And to think that there are statesmen, sociologists, or moralists who believe it is still possible to stay this

fatal progress of affairs by sending woman back to an almost idyllic past, from which, in any case, she is forever expelled. Let us take heed. Against the dangers of feminine degeneracy, and consequently that of the human race, there is, *at the present time*, no measure more salutary than the feminine vote. Let us remember, for instance, that in the countries where the political vote of woman is admitted, *sweating* has become almost impossible. Therefore in New Zealand, within these last years, the woman "tailors" have seen their salaries rise from 21 to 25 shillings weekly. The number of hours of work each week has been fixed at fifty-two. Women are paid in "vacations", while men do not yet profit by this measure of justice.

At the last International Congress for Woman Suffrage, held at Stockholm (1911), the Finland deputy, Mlle. Vera Hielt, stated that, thanks to woman's entrance into public life, the sweating system is, in her country, entirely dead.

VIII. We Have more Saintly and Heroic Women. The instruments invented by science to measure the sensibility or the degree of intellectuality of the woman of our times are as meagre and incomplete as the observation which is used in this province. We feel a change but we can neither graduate nor define this alteration. The poisoning by poverty and by the factories, the contact with science for intellectual women, joined to the social and political disturbances, have thus radically changed the surrounding environment in which the woman of our times is developing.

She is no longer the woman of yester year. The joy or the grief which this phenomenon arouses in us will

not change this fact. We must resign ourselves to the condition. The invectives or the exhortations of the sectarians of the past will not arrest the progress of woman, stirred by invincible longings to broaden her life and to increase her happiness.

Everything around woman has altered. It would be inconceivable that her aspirations alone should remain unchanged and immutable. The supreme law of life is the adaptation to the surrounding environment. The economic situation of woman being radically modified, she instinctively makes her preparations for an effectual struggle with the surrounding conditions; and, aided by the solidarity of the social classes, we see this transformation reach all the professions, all the strata of society, even those which live outside of labour or by exploiting the labour of others. The wave that rises from the depths stirs to the surface the entire ocean.

Feminism, with its political and social demands, is, in short, only the unfolding of the instinct of preservation which compels woman to conform to the altered conditions. Her former mode of life has failed; her entrance into factories and the lessening of her opportunities for founding a family have created for her other conditions of existence, and we are witnessing their logical development.

It is becoming impossible for woman to struggle for a livelihood under conditions of inequality with man, and it is on this ground that she demands their abolition. It will be futile to chaffer over the concessions to be made; she will not be appeased so long as she does not succeed in obtaining a full and complete satisfaction. The limit of her requirements, sooner or later, will reach the extreme limits of the rights of man. It is

often easy to combat caprices, but the necessities that life imposes upon us must be satisfied. The demands of woman, engendered by modern evolution, must thus be fulfilled in the interest of both sexes. This is the price of their harmonious development. Obliged to live their life in common, the man and the woman will be able to do this only through the soothing of their mutual distrust upon a basis of mutual justice.

To prevent woman from passing through the cycle of her evolution, it would have been necessary to enclose society within immovable frames. The idea appears paradoxical, but that of woman fixed in a type or types created by the past is no less absurd.

We may console ourselves, for the moment, by thinking that woman is gaining in energy what she has lost in resignation. Energetic, courageous, enterprising women were formerly classed among the saints or heroines. Now, they are found by thousands, if not by millions, mingling in our present life. When we survey the annals of their simple lives, led with a courage so much the more magnificent because obscure and almost superhuman in its perseverance, we are seized with an admiration, which does not exclude pity, in the presence of this world of marvels of the soul which we are permitted to witness.

Our personal participation in life prevents our grasping the change which it is constantly undergoing. We believe the eternal feminine immovable, while it is developing incessantly before our eyes. Our ignorance makes us regard as analogous two dissimilar things. Short-sighted people observe around them only a disheartening uniformity of men and affairs.

No, the woman of our times is not identical with the

woman of the days of our ancestors, and probably she will not resemble the woman who will be born in the twenty-fifth or the thirtieth century.

IX. The Beloved Woman Has Changed her Soul. A statement that borders upon paradox is that woman is loved frequently for different reasons from those of former days. The lovers do not perceive this, but lovers, from time immemorial, have been blind. One thing that is undeniable is that their idols have changed in age, while they have also changed in spirit. This phenomenon, which is observed everywhere, is especially striking in France.

As a consequence of the longevity which does not cease to rise, youth and middle life seem to be gaining more and more ground from old age.[1] In the time of Duvillard, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the average length of life in France was twenty-nine years. It is now about forty-eight and a half. The improvement of the hygienic conditions of life has doubtless contributed largely to this result, but the diminution of the birth-rate in France, and especially the diminution of infant mortality which weighs so heavily upon mortality in general, has also exerted its influence.

Under the influence of women refusing maternity or simply consenting to remain barren, French physiognomy is on the point of changing its aspect. To appreciate this, we need only compare the average age of Frenchmen with that of their neighbours. Thus, according to the calculations of A. de Foville, the average age of a Frenchman in 1901 was thirty-one years and

[1] See our *Philosophie de la longévité* (Philosophy of Longevity).

nine months against twenty-six years and ten months for the Englishman, twenty-six years and six months in Germany, and twenty-eight in Italy.

Frenchmen become, therefore, relatively older than the other inhabitants of Europe or America. Perhaps that is the reason that in no part of the world do we see so imposing a number of bald or grey heads as in our fair land of France.

The sentimental life of the country has undergone similar results. Balzac, in proclaiming the right to love on the part of the woman of thirty, aroused in his contemporaries astonishment bordering upon indignation. In his day, was not a man of forty-four considered an old man?[1] Let us not forget that forty or fifty years before Balzac, a philosopher like Charles Fourier, despairing of the sentimental fate of young girls who had not found a husband before the age of . . . eighteen years, claimed for them the right to throw propriety to the winds. According to the author of the *Thêorie des Quatre-Mouvements*,[2] this was almost the critical age.

The age of loving and of being loved is being remarkably extended. The woman of thirty now finds herself distanced by the woman of forty and even of fifty. The men who have profited, in their turn, by this sentimental evolution, would scarcely be justified in ascribing reproach for it to woman. Literature and the theatre advance the age of their heroes and heroines.

The same phenomenon is everywhere manifesting itself. For peculiar reasons, France undoubtedly pre-

[1] Balzac, *Physiologie du mariage* (Physiology of Marriage).

[2] *Théorie des Quatre-Mouvements* (Theory of the Four Movements), by Charles Fourier, Leipsic, 1808.

ceded by nearly ten years the novel and the play of foreign countries. There, also, the women loved are beyond thirty, and the lovers are older than the alleged greybeards of Balzac or of Turgenief who, scarcely fifty years ago, told us of old men of forty.[1] The lady-love and the lover thus have more knowledge of life and a more mature reason. The woman impresses rather by the qualities of her mind and her soul, by the spirit of fearlessness and independence which she displays in regard to man.

The gentle dove, timid and ingenuous, is deserted for human beings who know life better, having suffered more. Here, as elsewhere, the modified economic situation has produced intangible, though profound, disturbances. Thus, even in the sentimental domain which seemed to be developing outside of its influence, we discover an unsuspected and disconcerting rupture with the past.

X, Toward the Kingdom of a Love always Glimpsed and never Realised. Let us consider this: In every age, man has been haunted by two kinds of love. His soul drew him toward a serene and heavenly communion of hearts; his body toward the intoxication of the senses. The man who, sooner or later, has not had the happiness of feeling both, has not lived his life completely.

The Greeks, with their divining faculty, discovered these two aspects of sexual attraction. The mission of the goddesses Urania and Venus was to incarnate the duality of our existence. But men, too heedless, allowed the more intangible of the two enchantresses to

[1] *Fathers and Sons.*

escape from earth, and after having quitted human beings, she has ended by losing herself in the labyrinth of Olympus. The sentimental treasure-trove of Hellas, so many centuries old, was thus seized by the sons of the gods.

Yet when the autumn of life covers our passions with its ashes, and thrusts us implacably towards the depths of the earth, let us think what sweetness the goddess Urania might bring to us by reviving, under another form, our vanished spring which she would have crowned with her flowers. Perhaps these may not have the fiery, intoxicating fragrance of our youth, but they have the lasting beauty of fully opened blossoms. Let us know how to appreciate their virtues, and the disdained Urania will not fail to accompany us to the threshold of our existence with her divine influence.

The life of man, thanks to this complement of tenderness that will flow into his soul, will be reanimated by its rays to rare qualities which will adorn the humblest lives. What a new and mysterious kingdom will thus open before man, wearied by the sentimental monotony of so many centuries! The goddess Urania, beheld in our dreams, is perhaps no other than this thoughtful woman who, at the turn of the critical age, when her heart is moulded by the sufferings and the experiences of life, has all the charms of divine comprehension.

Who among us has not met this gifted being, with feelings forced back into the depths of her bruised heart and wounded by the cruel prejudices which condemn her to exile from the world of the living? Yet she resists this hostility of fate and of human beings. Then, the inspirer of man, like a new Laura or

Beatrice, she makes him ascend the heights of glory. If we seek the mysterious impulses which have created the great leaders of the nations or the great guides of thought, we shall find these in the communion of the mind of man with that of a woman who offered to the man not only her love but the genius of her experience and of her sensibility.

Platonic love has always been scoffed at and ridiculed, and Plato himself excluded women from its sphere. By scorning the only source which might have idealised and rendered practical the immortal conception of his master, Socrates, the great dreamer of Greece, has created something artificial which has never been able to take possession of the earth.

But let us permit the woman who has attained the uncertain age of loving, the possibility of dispensing the treasures of tenderness stored up during her life, filled with sweet and cruel experiences, and there will be more happiness on earth. To maintain her charms, woman must first of all be allowed the ability to work and to act. Let us open the windows of her dwelling and permit the echoes of life to penetrate within. Then, instead of a half-dead being prematurely snatched from life, we shall find a creature of heart and reason. We shall have fewer grotesque and monstrous beings and more geniuses of life, angel-guides, angel-comforters. The ugliness of the prematurely aged woman will give place to a creature of unsuspected qualities, who will gladden and adorn our existence.

Let us consider the twofold decadence of the man who, on reaching a decisive turning-point in his life, is still disturbed by the need of emotion. He seeks and believes he finds these in the poisoned springs of a youth

which degrades itself by the contact with senility and impels him toward his ruin. But here a new secret garden of woman is offered to him. He will behold the one whom he had never yet seen, beautiful with a new beauty, revealing the riches of an inner life. And this man who has often received from love only the joys of a sometimes painful awakening, sees himself transported into an enchanted realm where two minds, sometimes dissimilar but united in their impulses, commune in the serenity of their life which is prolonged through smiling years of a divine spirituality.

Perhaps we shall not increase the number of goddesses or of mistresses, but we shall augment that of the madonnas, the women truly beloved. Often re-exempt from the turmoil which Venus has ceased to cast into her soul, woman will diffuse around her more radiant kindness, or if you prefer the term, more loving friendship. This is dangerous ground, and the slightest failure of comprehension might singularly modify the author's thought. Let us imagine Diana who, under the sweet name of Selene, covers with her protection the aged Endymion. The caresses of the goddess have become mere reflections of light and her kiss is no longer aught save a ray which glides over the body and illumines the inmost depths of our souls. And the eternal feminine, under the influence of this spiritual resurrection of woman, will have profited by a new phase.

XI. The Half-Dead. What does the future hold in reserve for us? Will the men and women of sixty years soon dispute places with their juniors of fifty?

Yet we shall henceforth rejoice in this broadening of life. It is produced especially in favour of those from

whom it has long been withheld. While mankind aspires to longevity, by the brutal will of man and of circumstances woman has seen the gates close before her twenty years too soon. After twenty years in the East or thirty in the West, her life seemed suddenly ended. True, she has been allowed the pleasure of enjoying the life of her children. This is the domain in which she has been compelled to spend the treasure of her intelligence, her energy, and her sensibility. What did it matter if the riches abandoned to her were not exploitable! What did it matter, if the children, living their life, dreamed only of independence and departure! What did it matter if the woman had no children, or what is worse, had been deceived in her hopes and her feelings!

Let us admire this irony of man. By banishing woman to a borrowed life, by compelling her to blend her own with her children's, he has not had cruelty enough for his character of stepmother. While we all claim independence for the children and laud the benefits which the liberty of living their own life secures for them, we have chained to their existence the empty existence of their ancestress; and the man has taken a cruel vengeance.

Like the ancient artists who carved grotesque fauna on the sarcophagi, man has covered with ridicule the premature tomb of the woman. A stepmother bugbear; an aunt comical in her goodness; an ancient coquette laughable in her desire to please; an irascible girl wearing herself out by her own spitefulness: such are the images of the woman who was condemned to wait during long years of idleness and sorrow for the coming of the eternal slumber.

Having thus completed the cycle of her evolution, woman passes from the living world into the category of the half-dead. She vegetates while awaiting her complete deliverance, leaving man to make another flight toward existence.

Shut up in her sepulchre, resigning herself or lamenting, woman, thus exiled from life before old age, presented and still presents a most sorrowful spectacle. What a captivating and communicative subject of emotion for the novelists whose imagination is wasted in the monotonous spectacles of the second and third lover upon the same pillow!

The new woman has known, and will know, how to extend the boundaries of her existence. In love with life, having the firm conviction that we can normally pass double the average heretofore fixed by a defective experience, and—a still more important thing—that we can continue to live usefully and agreeably more than a hundred years, for our own happiness and that of our fellow-creatures, I have the courage to rejoice frankly in the enlargement of life which is open before woman.

XII. Women will Live Twenty Years Longer. A genius of the second birth of woman is calling her to a new destiny. The echoes of the world that seemed ended for her attract and will retain her again for years. The dawn of a second life, almost as useful and occupied as the first, is thus shining for woman. Perhaps love will once more accompany her for a time; but what does that matter? Having become the goddess and the inspirer of the serious life of man, she will easily console herself for no longer being the goddess of his pleasures.

Love is not life! It is only one of its ornaments.

There is no doubt of it—beauty itself will not leave woman so early. It abandoned her twenty years too soon, alarmed by the yawning half-open tomb. Henceforth beauty will remain more faithful, or rather it will accommodate itself to the circumstances. It is the beauty of the soul that constitutes the beauty of human beings. A soul that is full of serenity and of goodness expresses itself in a look of irresistible charm. Having entered the serious life of man, filled with the sorrows and pleasures of struggles, woman will gain fresh charms. Her beauty will be renewed, for it will be idealised. In her second life, woman will be, perhaps, differently beautiful, but man will be happier.

The youth of woman, as we now understand it, is purely factitious. The enlargement of her activity will cause all conventional barriers to disappear. Woman will continue to shine, by her beauty and her intelligence, even beyond the age of fifty, if, as she advances in years, she possesses an ideal and is strengthened by her participation in the collective life. Henceforth we shall note the cheering phenomenon of women who, after they have once succeeded in conquering the obstacles which separate them from active living, remain young a very long time.

Literary women, woman artists, women whose duties make them mingle in the happiness or the wretchedness of the multitude, almost always enjoy a prolonged youth. The few rays of fame which adorn their existence are transformed for them into true fountains of youth. We may note the women who are found at the present day leading the dramatic and musical movement in France. The weight of years has taken

scarcely anything from their talent, while it has left their charms intact. They reign upon the stage as well as in life. While the idle women of the Faubourg Saint-Germain or the middle classes of the same age have already disappeared from the world of the living, these workers are but beginning their second youth. Comparative statistics of women who are at the head of social or philanthropic institutions could only confirm this statement. How many living examples might be cited! But we yield to the singular prejudice which prevents us from revealing the age of women. Yet if it is glorious to conquer an enemy deemed invincible, it is no less delightful to recall the exploit.

Mankind will never make efforts enough to vanquish the premature old age which does us so much harm. The examples of the men and women who have succeeded in freeing themselves from its tyranny would merit being collected and stated. The spectacle of those who have traversed impassable roads encourages others to follow. Nay, more: it furnishes a lesson of courage and vital energy. And the more women there are who can free themselves from the fetters which our irrational conception of ages imposes upon them, the more they will increase around them the number of those who are freed from those nightmares of old age that render our efforts powerless and sadden our existence.

A mystic chain appears to attach the age for love to the consideration enjoyed by woman. In the Far East, woman is offered very young to the passion of man, and disappears from existence at the time her contemporaries are just beginning to live. Love, for this very reason, has a purely sensual stamp, degrading to man

and to woman. The lengthening of the age of love elevates the dignity, and at the same time increases the longevity, of woman. Beyond the age of thirty or forty the woman, dead to love, was fit only for religion or witchcraft. Her life was shattered. Prematurely aged, she went out of the living world. The prolonged summer of Saint-Martin in women will doubtless have consequences which we should be wrong to fear. There is a solidarity of ages. The cares bestowed on the child benefit the old man. The enlargement of the age of maturity allows the child longer to enjoy the years of life that are intended to form bodies and souls.

The woman-child will thus find herself more respected. She will awake to love so much the later, in proportion to the length of time the sentimental life waits for her. To the future of the race, this retarding of puberty will give cause for rejoicing to all those who tremble before the advent of the mature woman. This revolution will also have the result of lessening the fascination now enjoyed by artlessness and feminine follies.

Even at the present day, a beautiful and shallow woman already has fewer chances of being loved than an ugly and clever one. The emancipation of intelligence and ability will have incalculable results upon the evolution of both sexes.

After all, sentimental ardours will necessarily meet upon their way the limit of age. This statement will undoubtedly console those moralists who are anxious about the woman of fifty. But her imminent entrance into life proves that man has done wrong to desire to cast woman into oblivion at the age when he himself

does not cease to enjoy life, for the comparison of the vitality of the two sexes is not in favour of man.

XIII. Masculine Fairness and the Happiness of Women. The fact that whole years have been cut from feminine life shows how much our social order has been shaped by man for the benefit of man. We might even say that this has been done in violation of the deliberate purposes of nature, if nature really had preconceived purposes. For, with due deference to masculine pride, the vitality of woman is far superior to that of man.[1] If her longevity is relatively higher, it is because, after having passed a certain age, her organism better resists the assaults of time. A singular fact is that she is less subject than man to the attacks of senility, with its train of degrading evils, of which the abasement of our intelligence is one of the most frequent and deplorable. Arteriosclerosis, which decimates man, is more rare among women. The violent death, which is the indication of the wearing out and degeneration of the arteries, is much more menacing to our sex, called "strong," than to the weaker sex.

The sentimental unfolding of the woman having, according to the ancients, passed beyond the age of being loved, proves the necessity of affording a wide realm to the energies of her heart and the vivacity of her intellect.

Let us open before her, as soon as possible, the boundless fields of social and political activity, if we do not desire to see her imagination overflow into the domain of love.

[1] See on this subject the works of Lacassagne, Dr. M. Campbell, Ludwig Wille, G. Humphry, etc.

What dreary desolation rests upon the woman of forty as the conditions of our life have shaped the course of her days! The existence of the idle spinsters who have not succeeded in marrying may still be spent in the monotonous labours of the needle. They know little of life, and ignorance preserves them from suffering. But the other had passed through paradise. Her soul is full of memories, and her brain, enriched by experience, calls for life. A half-dead existence enrages her. Her sensibility, repressed but not stifled by age-long prejudices, overflows in aspirations and irrational acts. She terrorises herself, or terrorises others. Premature, withering old age is lying in wait for her, and its approach diffuses over her face a sorrowful and tragic melancholy. There is nothing but work, the source of joy and health, which could cheer her soul and secure to her more years of charm and life. But with that savage stupidity which characterises the slaves of routine, society persists in its denial.

We should enlarge the field of her activity; we should enlarge her duties; in short, we should create new bonds of affection for her ever-living emotionalism. By condemning her to a morbid, vegetative life, man reaps in suffering the seed of the compulsory weariness which he has imposed upon woman.

CHAPTER VII

THE BEAUTY OF THE NEW WOMAN

WILL the evolution of the new woman have an injurious effect upon her beauty? Once more the question arises—what is feminine beauty? First of all, it is the quality which charms our eyes and delights our souls. But, if the eternal feminine is constantly changing, the eternal masculine is also following an evolution that is easily proved. Our mode of regarding beauty will change, not only because woman does not cease to vary, but also because man changes in his ideas of woman, as woman changes in her ideas of man. The qualities of an admired object depend principally upon the admirer.

I. The Evolution of Beauty. Beauty is not subject to inflexible laws. Its rules vary according to environments and periods. True, we are all still living under the influence of Greek art. We often consider a woman beautiful because her lines would cause her so to be regarded by Praxiteles or Phidias. Classic sculpture has left a powerful impression upon the art and the artists of every age. It is through their vision of beauty that we still judge the beauty of our own times. Unable longer to view the nude, which under the serene sky of Greece was freely displayed, we often see it

solely through the comprehension of her great artists. Yet the ages which separate us from this experience have wrought changes in the physiological structure of woman. Certain plastic forms regarded as immutable or essential conditions of beauty have varied. What does that matter! Incorrigible, we are still living according to the conceptions of former times, which, in our own day, have often become falsehoods.

Among other things, let us consider one detail of Greek life. Women, like men, carefully depilated themselves, and this practice we no longer follow. Yet, in the pictures of most of our artists, a nude woman is deprived of the natural ornament of her body. Greek artists, moreover, intended their goddesses for the temples. They were to be placed upon pedestals and to receive the homage of the faithful, and this imposed upon the finest statuary the duty of conforming to the conventions of the times. The perfection of the goddess is not always that of the Greek woman of the period, and truth must frequently have given place to the falsehoods of expediency.

We continue to immolate our critical sense before the incarnations bequeathed by the masters of antiquity. We may add that the Greek woman, shut up in the gynæceum, received practically no instruction. The woman of our times often labours mentally on an equality with man. The wealth of ideas and of facts which her brain contains has enlarged her skull, and her forehead has become broader. The law of physical co-ordination has caused several other modifications also in the structure of her head. The woman of our day could not be, and is not, identical with the woman of Sparta or of Athens. Yet still, in our thought, we

subordinate her to the Venuses victorious, the children of the ancient inspirations of dozens of centuries. But nothing is irreparable. However deep the Greek contagion may seem to be, it is undergoing the influence of modern life. Gradually, all that for us is artificial in ancient art, attributable to the customs and the ideas of dead ages, will vanish, yielding to the exigencies of our own life, to the ideals and the ideas engendered by the civilisation of the centuries, shaped by other men, other women, and other principles. Greek art will not be obliterated on that account. The immortal breath of ancient beauty will continue to vivify the art of the future as it vivifies the art of our own day, but it will no longer stifle it by pressing it too closely in its embrace.

II. The Beauty of the Future. The idea of beauty will bear no codification. It passes through the process of evolution. Based upon life, it must resemble life. The changes in the social and moral conditions of the human race will produce the triumph of a different ideal of feminine beauty which will be neither superior nor inferior to that of Polycletus or Praxiteles. It will be something more, for it will conform to the evolution of woman and to the altered tastes of man.

Beauty, like any other branch of our material existence, has its historic phases. Let us make no mistake there. Besides, the poets and artists have always succeeded in grafting upon the ancient Greek heritage their personal conceptions. For the law of the immutable proportions of the human body which it has been agreed to call the canon of beauty, is merely imaginary. It has varied according to scientists and artists. From

the Egyptians down to very recent æstheticians of the twentieth century, there have been perhaps a hundred systems which are far from identical.

According to the most famous canon of Polycletus, the height of the head should be one eighth of the length of the body; that of the head and the neck together one sixth. The face is divided into three equal parts: from the roots of the hair to the upper end of the nose; from there to the base of the nose, and from the base of the nose to the bottom of the chin. The other canons approach more or less closely to that of Polycletus, but nevertheless vary in some degree.

The law of proportions can have in view only a normal type which, in its turn, varies according to the environment by which it is produced. The beauty of a body does not consist in the harmonious measurements of its different parts. In the first place, there is the asymmetry of the left side and of the right side of our organism, which brutally destroys all preconceived ideas. Then there is the undeniable fact that, in spite of the ideal accuracy of the proportions of the body, a woman may be ugly and may lack charm. We may recall, among other things, the models of perfect beauty by Eberlein who, as Stratz asserts, while answering to the classic canons, have nevertheless defective bodies. Thus, in one of his models, the trunk and the limbs are shortened in consequence of the curvature of the vertebral column. The foot, also, is too flat. But, as these two defects are simultaneous, the accuracy of the proportions of the details are, on that very account, re-established.

Let us not trust principally to the conceptions of perfect beauty as these are regarded by artists who, in

their turn, arrive at these conceptions only through the medium of their feelings and their souls, and depend far more upon the customs and the mentality of the times than upon the requirements of an ideal canon.

The greater may be the talent of such artists, the deeper will be the impression which they will leave upon those by whom they are followed and admired.

As Simonetta Catanea, the mistress of Julius de Medicis, was consumptive, Botticelli, who immortalised her features in his Florentine Venus, imposed upon a whole period the worship of sloping shoulders, a long neck, and a narrow sunken chest. How many artists, fascinated by this sickly Venus, have placed the breasts of their heroines too low,and too near each other! The signs of a decline in health have become among not a few great artists traits of beauty! Thin or fully developed women, with expressive or vacant looks, conscious of their weakness or animated by the hope of approaching triumph, succeed each other in modern art, which is liberating itself more and more from the despotic formulas that have fettered it for centuries. Feminine beauty is being emancipated at the same time as the conception of beauty, and is becoming conformed to modern life.

The change in feminine education will give us other incarnations of beauty. Woman will undoubtedly be stronger and larger, but she will not on that account be less beautiful. A few *incomplete* specimens of this future beauty are already seen among the flower of the "four hundred" of New York. They afford for us, like certain professional beauties in Europe, types of charm, tact, strength, and intelligence. But their

beauty is not that which the chisels of Greek sculptors have engraved on our memories!

Beauty is eternal only through the emotion it produces, and will continue to produce, upon living beings. Its repercussion will always be deep, yet it will have assumed other aspects to charm and fascinate the gaze of man. The brain of woman, containing more ideas, will change its form and, thanks to the law of co-ordination, will cause a modification of all the facial angles; her intelligence, strengthened by the contact with life, will give to her countenance a different expression; her body, thanks to physical exercises, will become more harmonious; her gaze will reveal a deep spiritual life; her grace will be blended with strength; divine thought will animate her every movement, and woman will become the dispenser of the noblest joys, while being still more closely associated with our infinite sorrows. A woman is beautiful because she produces the impression of beauty. This beauty comprises not only the more or less perfect harmony of the different portions of her body, but also the expression of her face, the more or less mysterious, indescribable atmosphere emanating from her person. It might even be said that the beauty of woman lies chiefly in the observer by whom she is admired. Like a beautiful landscape, a beautiful woman is transformed in the beholder. Some pass insensible where others are transported with ecstasy. Beauty does not exist in itself. The best proof of this is the manner in which it is regarded by different peoples. To the inhabitants of Guiana, a woman is beautiful only when she is fat and has a very narrow forehead. To the Singalese, woman is more adorable in proportion to the resemblance her

nose bears to a hawk's beak. Her lips must be large and full, and the soles of her feet flat, and her hair must resemble the tail of a peacock.

The Kaffirs and the Hottentots demand as a mark of beauty very long breasts. Conforming to this somewhat singular taste, the breasts of the Hottentot or Kaffir professional beauties attain very unusual dimensions. It is not rare to see the fashionable women of these countries nurse their children by gracefully throwing their bosoms over upon their backs, where the infants are generally fastened. Certain nations prefer an imposing nose, while others, like the Tartars, see a charm in its excessively minute proportions. Europe considers a white skin a mark of beauty, but numerous Australian, American, African, or Asiatic peoples demand just the opposite.

Barrington relates that an Australian, having had a child whose father was white, smoked it and rubbed it with a certain kind of grease to make its skin darker. The Chinese cannot conceive of beauty without a yellow skin, while the North American Indians admire only one which is tawny. The Malays, on the other hand, are thrilled solely by a complexion the colour of virgin gold.

Beauty and taste are only the results of a certain degree of culture, and, moreover, they must vary under the influence of the surrounding environment. As everything in and around us goes through the process of development, we may admit that the sexual instinct is also modified according to the stimulants affecting it without and their reflection within us. This is submitting and will continue to submit to the results of a certain education of our senses, and will be transformed under the influence of our modified thoughts.

III. Fashion and the Future Woman. Woman, thus morally and intellectually transformed, will no longer accommodate herself to the strange garments which only serve to deteriorate her own health and that of future generations. There is something humiliating to feminine dignity in woman's mode of dress. Illogical or anti-æsthetical, it remains little in harmony with the conditions of her environment. Rich or poor, stout or thin, tall or short, blond, brunette, or red-haired; made like statues or deformed and misshapen; resembling hogsheads or reeds, they dress in identically the same way, following with the same passive obedience the laws promulgated by the kings or queens of dress-making. The passion for liberty is surging against every idea of slavery. The women who honour themselves by sharing it with men submit, with an effacement of will that is perplexing, to the imperious orders issued by more or less authorised persons. These improvised legislators are largely recruited among women, but men are not excluded from the exercise of this power, which sows terror among fathers, lovers, or husbands, and provokes permanent or transitory troubles among the direct victims.

The history of fashion is summed up in some fifty centuries of disfiguration, compression, deformation, and tortures inflicted upon woman by invisible goddesses or gods. The gown, according to Jean Paul, has become to woman a new organ. She often receives it from unworthy hands. Neither her beauty nor her personality are respected. In the course of the ages, she has been made sometimes a turret, sometimes a hogshead, or as Dumas *fils* said, an umbrella or a bell. Her head is as little respected as her body. The

incongruous variety of her hair-dressing embraces the gamut of all the kitchen and household utensils. Her hats are sometimes monstrously large or monstrously small. The feminine head, which has been hidden from the light, suddenly finds itself uncovered and defenceless against the inclemency of the weather.

A change of fashion is equal to a little revolution in the majority of households, large, small, or average. Often, within the space of a year, we are made to witness a transition from the Greek fashions to the period of the Directory, to fall back into a sham Regency or a dubious eighteenth century. One day, silk is banished from the feminine costume, and the next it is used to excess. Woman is sometimes wrapped up like a bundle of old rags, and sometimes is allowed to display her charms beyond all propriety. The select few whose intelligence and good sense attract us, as well as the women with the brains of sparrows, will bow with the same docility before a mysterious and unknown master who commands them to compress or to loosen the waist, to bulge out or to hide their bosoms.

The martyrdom that women impose upon themselves while thus sacrificing, makes men smile wickedly. They see in this an evident proof of inferiority. They cannot admit that a reasonable being could thus needlessly expose herself to so many humiliating, painful, and degrading hardships.

A clever Spanish writer, M. E. Gomez-Carillo, who has conceived the idea of having women taught the principles of elegance, depicts impressively the sufferings imposed, for instance, by one of the numberless objects of their martyrdom, the corset.

When she finally takes it off, after a day of fatigue [he tells us[1]], her bosom does not heave with pleasure. With her soft clenched hands the martyr of fashion strokes her flesh, wounded by the whalebones, the lacings, the stiff canvas. Then she looks into a mirror and sees, with deep sadness, the bruises the hard cuirass has left upon her waist. But alas! Neither these pains, nor any sufferings, will make our sisters draw back a single step upon the ground of their coquetry.

History tells us of the tragical incidents in the lives of the *Merveilleuses* and the *Incroyables* of the time of the Directory. The fairest of the fair died young, victims of galloping consumption. This ailment snatched them brutally from their kingdom of irresistible sovereigns. The fashion was that of Greek nymphs. In spite of the severe climate of Paris, women insisted upon appearing as thinly clad as possible. The cold and the icy draughts attacked the youthful chests and caused incurable maladies. Women passively witnessed the ravages committed by the cruel fashion to which, however, they still submitted. How many other sacrifices there are which, far from elevating, humiliate and lower woman!

But the point in question is not only of the past. After the victory of feminist demands, the dignity and good sense of woman will also secure triumph.

She will wish to be beautiful, but intelligently, humanly beautiful, and she will thoroughly understand the invincible charm of clothing. Beauty often dwells in mystery, and the costume should hide and reveal, completing the reality. The whole, by harmonising,

[1] *Psychologie de la mode* (Psychology of Fashion).

increases the charms of the woman and contributes to the pleasure of the man. But her costume, far from adorning her, often produces just the contrary effect. Woman is always beautiful in spite of, not on account of, her costume. All æsthetic laws agree that the natural, which identifies itself with the true, constitutes the essential condition of beauty. But fashion usually violates the true and destroys it for the benefit of a sham convention which laughs alike at æsthetics and hygiene.

The synthesis of the toilet of the last century, if not of several dozens of centuries, is summed up in lamentable exaggerations of the prominent portions of woman's form: the hips, the bosom, etc. They are made either to project or to recede too much. The same course has been followed with the extremities. This is what has given us hoops or divided skirts, leg-of-mutton sleeves, hats too large or too small, Louis XV heels, puffed out waists, immense coiffures with a quantity of false hair, or one too flat, almost ashamed of finding itself in its place.

Caricature being simply an exaggeration, in any direction, of the truth, the originality of costumes is only caricatural. Woman must be really beautiful if she has been able to resist the assaults of fashion during so many ages; for not only does it render her ugly, but it injures her health. Beginning with the hats, which weary her head and disturb her brain; passing over the pins, corsets, and gowns, storehouses of microbes and dust, and ending with the method of covering her feet, everything conspires against her respiration and digestion. Her dress, in an equal degree, prevents her from becoming a mother, from nursing her child, and from being strong, robust, and graceful.

The woman who does not cease to charm us, in spite of the ransoms which, for so many ages, fashion has not ceased to levy upon her moral, intellectual, and physical worth, proves, by this very fact, that her beauty is eternal in its essence and asks only to be freed from tyrannical fashions and their tortures. She will do this all the more easily since novelty, an essential condition of fashion, is, after all, merely an illusion. Like the horse fastened to the merry-go-round, fashion remains fixed around the same pivot. The one fifty centuries old resembles, in a most surprising manner, the latest design of the Rue de la Paix.

One day, I had an opportunity of talking with Mme. X., the undeniable queen of dressmaking in our times. The famous and lamented physiologist, Angelo Mosso, wished me to have reproductions of engravings of the fashions of the Pre-Mycenæan period, which he had brought from his explorations in the Greek Isles. On the other hand, Jules Bois, the exquisite poet of *L'Humanité divine*, on returning from his expedition to the same regions, offered me sketches no less curious, borrowed from the same period, the majority of which have been so faithfully reproduced in his *Furie*, played at the Théâtre Français.

"Well," said Mme. X . . ., "I have just had made in my workrooms, for the next season, the charming waist worn by the young Mycenæan women five thousand years ago."

These borrowings are made almost unconsciously. "Nothing so closely resembles the fashion of to-morrow as the fashion of yesterday," said Alphonse Karr. What often renders a fashion detestable is that it considers only the *average* woman. Twenty models which,

however, are connected with one or two principal types, serve to dress fifty millions of civilised women living in every climate and country.

Contrary to the individualistic tendencies of our times, fashion forgets personality and keeps in view only the masses. It considers solely the degree of fortune, and the individual value of each woman utterly vanishes. All, whatever may be the extent of their intellectuality or the piquant originality of their features, are subject to the same caprices which dictate their orders and their laws.

Women were formerly only a herd of human beings submissive to the will of man. Nothing differentiated them—neither their occupations nor their culture. Fashion, so scornful of them in its way of dealing with them in droves, might thus justify itself. But the variety of occupations, as well as the integral instruction which is opening to woman, will everywhere create complex and many-sided personalities which will no longer be able to accommodate themselves to the position of mere dolls.

Our way of understanding and enjoying life not only reacts upon the expression of our faces, our movements, our bearing, but it also modifies our anatomy. The modern woman's beauty lies especially in the expression of her nature and her mentality. The number of "personal" women increasing, the differentiated types of beauty will increase in their turn. The faces and the bodies, their mirrors, will consequently reflect richer and more varied shades. Each one of them will demand clothing harmonising with her external appearance. The "individualised" woman will require personal costumes. Perhaps she will not always know

how to aid in their construction, but she will emancipate herself from the obligation of resembling the model imposed upon her by some man or woman dressmaker.

Perhaps the evolution of the feminine toilet will follow the path traced for it by that of man. There was a period when men were clad in a way almost as varied as that of woman. Compare the pictures representing the nobles of the Renaissance, and even those of the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, with the portraits of our own times. The variety and splendour of these masculine costumes, the beauty of their jewels, their affected attitudes, even their fantastic wigs and enormous hats—how strangely all these things clash with our idea of masculine elegance at the present day! The most audacious "darlings" of our times who, in the unconsciousness of their perverse tastes bear most resemblance to women, dare not wear one tenth of the rings and chains proudly donned by a French or Venetian cavalier of the Middle Ages.

The future woman will, perhaps, also rid herself of the idle ornaments of gems. She will no longer vie in the magnificence—sham or real—of her chains or necklaces, the symbol of dependence of a dead past. More and more personal, she will display her "individualised" beauty, the fruit of her "ego," which will be really her own, and her garments which will frame the beauty of her soul. She will renounce the artificial graces she owes to man or to the favours of fortune. She will prefer to be a great soul rather than the costly animal of which Plautus says: "Whoever wishes to give himself many troubles need only bestow upon himself two things: a ship or a woman. These are the two things in the world most difficult to equip."

Is this saying that woman will become masculine? Not at all. She will be even more elegant, while being more personal. The declaration of the rights of woman will permit her to be herself, and no longer a walking advertisement of the man or woman by whom she is dressed.

The greater the value of our individuality, the more difficult is separation. The future woman will prefer to be a perfect woman instead of an incomplete man. She will control her costumes by the requirements of her own personality. The day that their "ego" liberates itself, women will no longer be willing to drown it in the collective suicide wrought by fashion. To shine by charms invented or imposed by another person, man or woman, will seem to them as humiliating as it is unworthy. They will no longer base their own importance, or that of their sister women, upon the costliness or the novelty of their garments. They will blush at being only an expensive animal whose sole effort is to please men and to fill other women with envy.

In the degree that woman regains her "personality" and her dignity, she will submit even less to the despotism of fashion than to that of man. Attraction is specially exerted by dissimilarity. The attraction exercised between the sexes will thus find its causes enriched and varied a hundredfold. The conception of beauty, as the man of our day understands it, will change in its turn. His eyes will become accustomed to admire other harmonies, his ideal will assume other forms. The poets themselves will vary the subjects of their inspiration, so often monotonous, and will sing of beauty in conformity with the laws of nature.

Then we shall perceive and shall appreciate the real

woman, who has complete control of her life as well as of her bearing, her glance, her body, which at last will be freed from the shackles of that permanent crime against her person, the fashions of dress. And this liberty of body will aid still further in the deliverance of her soul. Thus, thanks to the new woman, we shall march on toward new forms of beauty ennobled and purified.

IV. The Education of the Sexual Instinct. A boundless perspective is thus opened with respect to the future relations between man and woman, for woman will be able to elevate herself and to give sympathy and friendship more space in the kingdom of love.

Woman will stimulate our minds and our aspirations toward good more and our sexual instincts somewhat less. Love will find a broader and more stable foundation. Born on the heights, it will tend toward the sublime, drawing in its train the whole sentimental life. Already the forerunners of this change are everywhere announcing its arrival. Paradoxical as the idea of an education of the sexual instinct may at first appear, it is being effected before our eyes. In every country, people are arming themselves against its evil stimulants and striving to render its action normal. Books, pictures, and spectacles which profane love by urging it toward a debauchery of the senses, are held in scorn by respectable persons. The external chastity of former days is tending in our own times to become inward purity. Nay, we are striving to extend the purity of woman to man himself. Physical exercises and the noble love of sports retard the awakening of the genetic instinct whose precocious action debases the

heart and lessens the beauty of the body. A new sexual morality is on the eve of being born, a morality which must endow human beings with more dignity and greater moral beauty.

Hygiene, with its essential and decisive ideas for the formation of future generations, is being implanted in our lives and our customs, while other obligations are preached to young people. To respect for the past is added reverence for the future. Besides the veneration due to the parents and ancestors who are passing away, we are being taught the duties to the coming generations. Individuals, like societies or governments, are unable to live outside of the three periods to which their destinies are fettered: the present, the past, and the future. What is more noble, more touching, than the debt of gratitude we pay in the form of esteem and affection to those who have transmitted to us the torch of life; but what is more sublime than the comprehension and humane foresight which make our love and our solicitude extend to those by whom we shall be followed! The morals of the past committed the great error of forgetting the culture of the coming generations. How charming is the remark of a German poet who, passing before a child, bowed to it, hat in hand: "I salute in this child," he said, "the coming life, our future master"! We must also salute in it a source of our varied joys and our legitimate pride.

There is no sight more cheering than that of handsome children who are healthy morally and physically. Then why not make youth understand this prospective joy resulting from a duty of purity to be fulfilled? There is nothing more salutary than this education of masculine chastity. It promises regenerated desires

and bodies with altered charms. To the moral changes which enter the life of the two sexes, other causes of mutual attraction will respond.

Minds which style themselves strong ridicule these tendencies of the new pedagogy. They are only cowardly. Reared in a poisoned atmosphere, they exhale the poisons of doubt. They are so convinced of the inevitable baseness of man, of the sovereign domination of the evil instincts and the evil passions, that they believe neither in their destruction nor in their possible diminution. Pessimism, as usual, shows itself at once cowardly and powerless. Since it does not believe in the possibility of certain improvements, it folds its arms in the presence of the efforts being made everywhere to make these triumph. Yet faith bears a force within itself, and labour for the best always results in benefit.

We firmly believe in the possibility of introducing into the relations between men and women, a higher standard of chastity and consequently more solidity and moral beauty; and, under such influence, our ideal of feminine beauty, and of beauty itself, will in its turn be modified. Thus, by purifying the sexual instinct, love will be educated. By following a more harmonious line it will grow and develop, as, by means of trellises, we aid certain plants to send forth toward the sky their solid stems and more and more beautiful flowers.

According to the psychologists, one of the essential differences between the love of man and the love of woman lies in the fact that woman's love goes from the soul to the senses, while man's love pursues the opposite course. By levelling this difference, the love of the

future will bring the two sexes nearer. After all, it is solely the fruit of regrettable omissions in the education of man. When, in his turn, his love will find in the soul its starting-point and support, passion will become more div ne and will more easily result in perfect happiness. A certain change of physiological features will follow and accompany this evolution. Beauty will express itself differently and love will gain the stability and the pride of purified and ennobled souls.

Woman's beauty depends upon the moral beauty of man. When this is not elevated, the beauty of woman, in its turn, descends several degrees. Now, however imperceptible may be the progress of our ideas concerning the feminine ideal, I believe, nevertheless, that it is very real. It is enough to compare the apologists for woman in former times with those of our own day. It would be one of the most curious tasks to undertake concerning the spiritualisation of the tastes of man, for we should come to realise the ever-increasing homage which his passion renders to the spiritual element in woman. Ancient poetry, when it speaks of woman, has in view only the grosser physical charms. The Orientals doubtless describe these with more frankness, while the writers of Greece and Rome display more moderation. In these poems the soul, the intelligence, and the personality of woman play scarcely any part, or are entirely effaced.

Do not oppose to this statement the poetry of the troubadours. False or conventional, this literature can no longer deceive us. The nobility of their sentimental aspirations is equal to their pretended Platonic love. Both had scarcely any existence, like their

"courts of love" which, after having been the dream of so many enthusiastic souls, were in reality, according to Gaston Paris, only a scoff at ignorant people who were misinformed.

By desiring to subject feminine beauty to immutable laws, we might easily render it a word devoid of meaning. According to Larisch, the lower limbs of all women are too short. A lover of the canon of beauty, Cennino Cennini, developed this thesis, taken up later by Schopenhauer, that woman represents precisely the opposite of the law of proportions. But, while Cennini had merely found man tolerably fortunate in incarnating within himself the laws of beauty, the German misogynist made woman, from the æsthetic standpoint, a monster. This, however, did not prevent the great pessimist, up to a very advanced age, from falling in love with, and courting, women. Nor must it be forgotten that the harmony dreamed of by so many creators of canons lasts almost as long as a midsummer night's dream. Nutrition, a life of exercise or a sedentary one, love and maternity, a passing illness, will speedily destroy harmony. The history of Art is filled with facts of this sort. A beauty which answered to the master's ideal at the beginning of the month is found to be changed a few weeks later. The dimensions of the emaciated or fattened body no longer correspond with the measurements previously taken.

The more beauty is studied, the more it is seen that most frequently it is simply the expression of perfect health of body and soul. Hygiene rationally applied will increase feminine beauty by several degrees. Merely by diminishing the cases of phthisis or of indigestion which so radically affect the growth of our skeletons and

the expression of our faces, will the law of proportions, so vainly sought, be more frequently and more solidly realised.

We may note that lack of air or of light, of nutrition or of sufficient physical exercises, produces among other things the shrinking of the pelvis which, in turn, renders the abdomen pendent without mentioning the curvature of the vertebral column. When physicians examine the models offered by artists for our admiration, they often find in these models serious defects engendered by ignorance of anatomy and a bad comprehension of the laws of life.

Psychologists assert that only the women who are called ugly inspire deep and lasting passions. Their power of attraction resides in the indefinite charm emanating from their smile or their glance. And these merely embody the contents of their souls. Closer contact with human life and thought will only render this gift of woman more intense and more lasting, in proportion as it is less subjected to the external circumstances which are often so destructive. Herbert Spencer teaches that mental perfection and perfection of visage are in fundamental harmony. What pleases us in woman are these very external perfections which reflect those within. When we dislike a woman, it is because we discern in her face the "external correlatives of internal imperfections."

Let us simplify this somewhat arid terminology. A beautiful soul is expressed in a beautiful face. The mystery of real beauty lies there, and not elsewhere. Beauty is merely an attribute of life. It depends upon it, as the earth depends upon the solar world. When sexual life assumes other forms, the attraction which

woman exerts upon man will be exerted under different conditions. Beauty will express itself in beings who have more nobility of soul and more pride in the rhythm of the body. Woman will be differently beautiful, but man will bow with the same passion before her altered charms.

CHAPTER VIII

SEXUAL BOUNDARIES

A—The Diminution or the Disappearance of the Males.

I. The Dramas of Nourishment. Intoxicated by the resounding successes obtained in these latter days, ardent feminists are sending through the world disturbing shouts of joy. With their delight in the present victory are mingled imprudently wild anticipations for the near or distant future.

An easy triumph often does far more harm than a defeat for it justifies all sorts of audacities. Bewildered by the abracadabra whims of the feminist revolutionaries, men, in their turn, are allowing themselves to be overcome by apprehensions devoid of any solid basis. The spectacle of females which, among certain organised beings, oppress or suppress the males, inspires them with an hysterical fear. Like visionaries under the spell of their ailment, they prophesy terrible cataclysms which, sooner or later, must lead to the slavery of man and a despotic supremacy of woman.

Cases in which the female imposes her will upon the male are undoubtedly numerous. She does not limit herself often to ruling, but even goes to the destruction of her partner. Sometimes she dispenses with his ser-

vices; sometimes she uses him as a mere instrument of pleasure and of the perpetuation of the species. His task accomplished, the male has only to disappear.

Among the Arachnidæ, when the conjugal duty is once performed, the male has every interest in making his escape. If he fails in this attempt, he is devoured on the spot by his voracious and capricious companion. H. Fabre relates numerous instances in the entomological kingdom of these cruel morrows of nuptials. The dramas of sufferings inflicted upon the males are more frequent than is supposed. The mantis, which methodically eats its husband during the marriage ecstasy, is thoroughly symptomatic.

Among the social Hymenoptera this predominance of the female is generally found. A sort of gyneocracy, the rule of women, is manifested in the same degree among the bees or the ants. The females usually confine themselves to preserving a certain number of males for reproduction and the inferior services, while arrogating for themselves a despotic power over the entire colony. The males are thus directly dependent upon the females.

But it is not enough to cite the cases of domination by the females; we must also understand the causes by which these have been produced, justified, and maintained. What chiefly distinguishes the feminine embryo is the tendency to saving; on the other hand, that of the male is characterised by waste.

We refer our readers to the chapter in which we have studied the respective situation of the two sexes in regard to physiological biology. The history of the natural sciences teaches that precisely in consequence of these two opposite qualities in the two sexes, dearth

causes suffering especially among the males. In the inferior species, the damage occasioned by a diminution of provisions is often irreparable. Lacking nutritive reserve, the male finds himself compelled to sacrifice even essential portions of his organism. Maupas shows in his studies of the inferior Infusoria how, under the influence of these catastrophes of alimentation, the males end by disappearance. Edmond Perrier teaches us how, in consequence of this disappearance of masculinity, a strange compensation is produced in the other sex. Equally assailed by the dearth, the female can make only meagre nutritive reserves, which must not only suffice for the building up of the maternal organism, but also aid in preparing the elements destined for the conservation of the species. Moreover, these females, he tells us, are often obliged to dispute their share of the formative elements with bodies still young, active, and endowed with all their powers of assimilation. In this respect they are in the same condition as the wasteful sex, and they develop like this sex, which thus finds itself temporarily reconstituted. This lasts until the organism undergoing evolution has reached the stationary period. It then leaves the reproductive elements to hoard the reserves which it used for its growth, and gradually resumes exclusively the functions which it exercised in the times of abundance. The same individual, therefore, in the course of its evolution, passes successively through the two sexes and during a brief period even unites both: it is a hermaphrodite. These processes may progress as far as the effacement even of this temporary masculine sex.

This revolution, extending to the transformation of the principal functions of the sexes and sometimes even

to the destruction of the male sex, occurs too often among certain living beings to remain unnoticed.

This is what happens when animals accustomed to the diet of the sea venture to pass into fresh water: this change of habitat causes modifications no less radical in their mode of existence, eating, and action. Life is no longer so easy. The saline principles which served as a saving in their search for nourishment, being no longer in reach, it is necessary to resort to efforts that are often fruitless. Their sexuality feels this profoundly. The molluscs with spiral shells remain divided, from the sexual standpoint, so long as they continue to live in the sea. When, having migrated to fresh waters, they pass into the form of Limnæa or pond-snails, or when, having chosen their abode on the land, they appear to us in the form of slugs or edible snails, they become hermaphrodites. It is the same with many of the Crustacea.

When a parasitic animal resolves to lead the free life which imposes upon it the necessity of providing its nutrition, the difficulties of this new enterprise may, in the case of non-success, have an injurious influence upon its sexuality. The drama of nourishment, which has become inaccessible or merely difficult, thus presides almost exclusively over those sexual revolutions which result in the disappearance or the diminution of the male. It requires an absolutely ungovernable imagination to speculate outside of the probabilities of science and common sense, to find a possibility of similar changes in the relations of the human sexes. We have only to observe the Mammalia to discover that, even among them, the same cause is powerless to effect similar sexual revolutions. Then what is to be said

of man developing under conditions that escape all comparison?

All that over-timid or over-cautious minds teach us on this subject remains equally inadmissible. But have we not seen scientists of great breadth give themselves up to predictions sounding the funeral knell for the existence of the masculine sex? While certain Christian sociologists tremble before the exaggeration of the worship of the Holy Virgin, which forces the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost into the second place, the naturalists, and among them some of the most eminent, foresee henceforth the position of man reduced to that of the workers among the bees.

II. Sexual Harmony. The prophets who attempt to steal the mysteries of a morbid sexual evolution such as might appear, perhaps, in several thousands of centuries, are pursuing their vocation with more cleverness than judgment. Their anticipations deserve no credit so long as man and woman are sure of keeping their intellectuality, thanks to which, man is guaranteed in advance that he will never need to procure his subsistence, even during consecutive years of dearth, at the cost of his masculinity. All the conquests of civilisation are to him so many barriers against the real or fictitious dangers which decimate the males or diminish their physiological importance in all the stages of organic life.

Let us soothe the timid or over-bold minds. No force, known or unknown, will ever be able to cause the triumph of hermaphroditism or the transformation of human society into that of the bees or of the ants. Instead, therefore, of losing ourselves in vagaries ex-

tending beyond infinite ages, let us rather draw direct conclusions from known historic facts or from the aspect of the things presented to our judgment. Everywhere we reach the same assurance. The happiness and the perfect evolution of the two sexes depend exclusively upon their harmony. The domination of man has, for the same reason, been as harmful to women as to men.

On the other hand, in spite of the centuries of subjection endured by woman, the two sexes show an identity of human value. Even from the physiological standpoint, the man and the woman express themselves in two organisms absolutely similar, into which two dissimilar sexual motors have been introduced. The differences which flow from this source, it is true, create sexual variations, but these do not extend beyond the mechanisms by which they have been produced.

It would be wrong to shut our eyes to their reality, but it would be still worse to exaggerate their importance beyond measure. Sexual boundaries, thus understood, may serve as a foundation for the establishment of a solid and eternal harmony between the two portions of humanity. The question is solely not to pervert its character or to violate its logical consequences.

The happiness of the two sexes can flourish only in an integral development of their aptitudes, tendencies, capacities, and aspirations. There must be neither servitude nor domination. Man and woman being only two different expressions of the same human principle, should, for that very reason, be regarded as of equal worth. They have the same rights, for nature imposes the same duties, the same joys, and the same sufferings. Both responsible, their happiness is the result of mutual dependence.

Supremacy, with the train of injustices each deed of violence entails, is, on the same account, harmful to both sexes. This is why the slavery of man, supposed to follow that of woman, is not only undesirable, but inadmissible. The two weights of the same balance, after having made the scale bend toward each side, will end by remaining in equilibrium.

The plenitude of the life of each sex, which would realise the plenitude of the life of humanity, is the sexual programme in the broadest meaning of this word. But this plenitude cannot be realised without the harmonious co-operation of both sexes. The solidarity of their purposes and of their happiness will then permit them to be guided by the principles which tend to complete their virtues and to lessen their imperfections.

As this solidarity expresses itself chiefly by the fireside and in family life, the expansion of these will be imposed upon the society of the future as well as on that of our own day.

B—Concerning Marriage

A special legislation for woman is only a superfluous luxury. Give to her the same rights which benefit man, and there will no longer be a feminine problem. But absolute equality of rights does not mean identity of sex. The work of thousands of centuries cannot be destroyed by the efforts of legislators. Woman will always retain certain traits of femininity which will render her unlike man. It is predicted that, in the progress of the ages, her monthly humiliation will vanish. This hypothesis tempts many audacious minds who draw from it infallible presages. Admitting

the possible realisation of their prophecy in some thousands of years, maternity will still remain and will not cease to differentiate woman from man.

The dream of creating offspring without the concurrence of woman has always haunted the imagination of the human race. The miraculous advances which the chemical synthesis has accomplished in these latter days seem to justify the boldest hopes, but we are still far from the creation of living protoplasm. The experiences of Loeb or of Delage are undoubtedly very confounding. But in order to produce life, these scientists were obliged, nevertheless, to have recourse to beings already organised.

Thousands of centuries undoubtedly separate us from any possiblity of realising this most magnificent, and most disconcerting, dream ever engendered in the human brain.[1]

In the interval, as the torch of life must be transmitted to the succeeding generations, woman will continue gloriously to fulfil her character of mother. She will give life to the human race of the future as she has given it to the human race of the past, her maternal office bringing, in its turn, that of guardian angel to children during their most tender years.

The necessity of continuing the species imposes this sweet duty upon the majority of women. But months of pregnancy, child-birth, nursing, imply a world of imperious disturbances in feminine existence which modify her organic structure. Let us not go so far as to say that this reacts upon her intellectuality, or upon her health. Yet, though transitory, this situation of

[1] See *Philosophie de la Longévité* (Philosophy of Longevity).

woman admits certain differences in her inmost life. We find ourselves, therefore, in the presence of a collection of facts which will prevent "femininity" from vanishing completely, even in the most distant ages.

Women, while enjoying an equality of rights with man, will have other duties to fulfil. The harmony between the two sexes will thus reside not only in the identity of their rights, but also in a harmonious complement of their obligations with regard to society and to the future generations.

I. The Institution of Marriage. The sexual boundaries will impose and maintain certain institutions which audacious minds regard as decrepit. In the number of these institutions, let us name, in the first place, marriage. Its forms may vary, but its essence will remain alive as long as the human race exists. Marriage has undergone attacks from every quarter. While certain moralists, as well as the socialists, the revolutionists, or the anarchists preach its approaching disappearance, pretended conservatists discredit it by wishing to preserve it from the influence of the times and the environment. Like every institution, marriage develops with circumstances. It is only the perfected form of the ancient slavery of woman. This was transformed into an abduction, to become later a peaceful conquest of woman, sanctified and confirmed by the ecclesiastical and the civil power. Marriage is tending to become more and more a genuine union, whose foundation is the moral and material interests of the contracting parties.

When we think of the source from which marriage has come to us, we cannot refrain from a sort of ecstasy

over its age-long evolution. But we should be wrong to anticipate so swift a progress in the future. The most rapid development has its stopping-places. A moment comes when an idea or an institution *almost* realises the perfections contained in their germs. Their cycle of development touches its boundaries. Crystallised in their decisive form, they continue, under their apparent immobility, to serve humanity.

How many inventions, having touched the culminating point, continue to afford the human race the greatest benefits though they have lost the capacity to develop! Architecture, sculpture, painting, always invoke beauty, but their mode of execution, the means which they employ, remain almost always the same. Railroads are everywhere increasing; the basis of their operation, the method of building the roads, or the locomotives, have varied little for several decades.

It will be the same with marriage as with the relations between parents and children. A day will come when the external expression of these institutions will vary only in an imperceptible manner. For that very reason affection and respect for their elders will not cease to exist.

How is marriage to be replaced? If this were once destroyed, it would be necessary to retrace the road which has been abandoned for several thousands of ages.

Outside of marriage, there is only polygamy for man and polyandry for woman. Both would simply have to unite or to part from each other at the pleasure of their fancy. The transitory union, based upon the caprice of the attraction of the senses or of temporary interests, could only be injurious to woman. It is man who is chiefly distinguished by his variations in the do-

main of his sexual affections, and it is woman who must, far more, endure the consequences. A wife and a mother, she would find herself doubly harmed; what would become of the child, of the children in general? How is relationship to be established in the oscillation of the connections grafted upon free union?

To secure direct filiation, we should be compelled to have recourse, as in certain primitive societies, to a disguised form of the matriarchate. The mother would give the name to the child, and the latter would be able to inherit the family property only through this title. The conditions would thus be reversed. Instead of the equality of the sexes, founded upon natural bases, we should take the road leading to the subjection of man.

After all, marriage is implanted in our customs and forms a portion of our civilisation. It is something more than a simple contract between the man and the woman for a period longer than their sexual bond. The family depends upon it, and without the family there can be no elevated and permanent organisation of society.

Let us follow the evolution of marriage through the ages, and we shall perceive easily that all the higher civilisations find in it their goal. Nay, more; it is only with marriage and with the relations regularly established between the sexes that woman has gained power and dignity. It is thanks to the laws which have gradually restricted the domain of the selfish interests and the brutal passions of man that those of women, more spiritual and more moral, have ended by triumphing. And with her have triumphed, in their turn, the child and the family. Love itself is purified in marriage, by enthroning itself in the highest regions, and on this account it has become more noble and more enduring.

II. Love and Marriage. Marriage, before becoming a social duty, was at first a purely private matter. In the presence of the sacerdotal office which consists in perpetuating the family and the race, woman and love retire to the second or even the third rank.

Gradually love was even no longer seen in marriage. It withdrew and concealed itself in all sorts of connections formed outside of the marriage precincts. The troubadours merely emphasised a state of affairs regarded as normal in all the societies which preceded that of the present day. With the flight of time, the divorce between marriage and love became embittered. The poetry and the life of former centuries reveal the full extent of this condition. Like the love of Tristan and Isolde, that of all the poets of the Middle Ages unfolds outside of the covenants blessed by the Church. Did not the courts of love decree that love and marriage like fire and water excluded each other! The passion of love thus proclaimed its own rights, and broke the seals set by marriage. Love fled from conventional laws and ignored all those promulgated by gods and men. Yet it is refined and ennobled in the degree that woman is more honoured. A time will come when it will become idealised to the point of becoming exempt from sensual desires.

Lovers seek especially to emancipate themselves from the restraints of all the codes. All countries, since the close of the eighteenth century, have become the theatre of these Homeric struggles between feeling and duty. Divorce and liberated passion, in their turn, thrilled every mind. Love, therefore, once separated from marriage, has the utmost difficulty in returning. Poets and novelists idealise it extravagantly, but they place

it almost always on the margin of the laws and the legal or religious covenants.

With the triumph of human personality, marriage is also established at the conjugal hearth. Man and woman, delivered from the fetters of the laws, even when confined in the jail of marriage, look at each other more freely, more tenderly. The idea of being able to break at will the bonds which unite them, fills them with a sense of ease and permits them to trust themselves more readily to the inclinations of their souls, to the appeals of their feelings. It is thanks to this relative liberty in marriage that love between the husband and the wife has been able to be born and to develop. Man and woman respect their mutual dignity more in proportion as the fetters of marriage have ceased to press upon them painfully. Other aspirations have filled their souls. And this is only the beginning. . . .

In time, man and woman will seek in marriage this necessity for soothing in life. The grievous law of our existence, which exposes us to every wind and compels us to undergo so many tempests, will find its complement in a more and more united marriage, in which our tortures will be soothed and our sufferings relieved, and in which the isolation of our lives will be snatched from despair and gloom.

Future unions will accomplish, perhaps, what seems to us the paradoxical work of having love born and endure in marriage. This is because love, in its turn, will benefit by the evolution of woman. It has been volatile, egotistical, brutal, tyrannical, so long as it was merely the expression of the sexual instinct. But the advent of the new woman will secure for love a broader basis, embracing the comprehension of souls,

founded upon common interests often protected in common. This will also be the source of the friendship, a serious and stable feeling, which will reign in a more frequent and more lasting fashion between the husband and the wife. Love, idealised by spiritual principles, will gain in depth and in duration. Perhaps it will not be so rapturous, but it will be more human, if not more divine.

"It makes us shudder when we think what the poets and novelists have made of love," cries one of the most original and most penetrating thinkers of our times, Dr. Max Nordau.[1] "It is precisely because the matter in question," he tells us, "concerns a feeling of primordial importance in the evolution of the human race, that it should be considered with definiteness and enlightenment. But it has been simply travestied and distorted. The writers who speak of it are products of the feverish and abnormal existence which most contributes to the degeneracy of our sexual life. We know that the nervous centres which incarnate it ought normally to submit to the influence of the other centres of our sensibility, and to harmonise with so many other domains of the activity which characterises man and woman. Yet our disordered existence casts outside the other elements of the full activity of man, and allows itself to be absorbed and ruled by the sexual factor that has thus become the dominant and exclusive cause of our emotion, the foundation of our thought and of our psychology. The authors and their lovers, with their deviations of the sexual instinct, almost always border upon madness. So the gallery of lovers, men and

[1] *Paradoxe: Zur Naturgeschichte der Liebe.*

women, often resembles the morbid types that swarm in the insane asylums."

Nourished by these false sensations, we gain from them erroneous ideas of sexual life, and indirectly of the varied aspects of our own existence. The latter is reduced to love and, what is worse, to a morbid and degenerate love which early seizes upon our imagination, over-excited by abnormal and depraved writers. The recollection of plays or books prevents our organism from giving itself free course, and paralyses the normal manifestations of our sexual centres. Our sentiments of love are often merely the results of a bastard influence which, having come from without, has nothing in common with the natural affinities of our bodies and of our souls.

To use a mythological comparison, the theatre, the poets, and the novelists have not only seated Eros in the place of Zeus, but they have blended in his person all the attributes of the divinities of Olympus. He is omnipotent: he kills, and he gives life. Without him, man is nothing; endowed with his favours, he is everything. A more serious matter—he is abnormal and morbid, and often acts against the interests of the species.

To tell the truth, the great loves, of which we have a dozen examples in history, show a sane and noble origin. For the very reason that it is unusual, these loves impress us by their strange sublimity. Let us hope that, in the very near future, these loves will become more numerous and will spread through the world. It would be idle to believe that love does not develop; like all our conceptions and sentiments, it has its evolution. The love of to-day is only the result of

the past, as the love of the future will be the product of the broader conditions in which will grow the new man and the new woman.

It is in the communion of souls that the beauty and the power of love will be born. But all the lovers of the past do not succeed in destroying that sensation of duality, if not of contradiction, which is perceived in the marriages of former days. In these woman was often sacrificed, love almost always. The logic of the privileged position had caused man to divide, in his own interest, love and maternity. He compelled certain women to procure for him love and pleasure without children. He imposed upon others the duty of giving him children without love.

The fate of the dispensers of love was necessarily often as lamentable as that of those who became mothers by command of the husbands seconded by that of the laws. The man who grieves over the ancient order of things is thinking only of himself, not of her who was their victim. He points out, with emotion, the happy marriages. He even tells us how, under the influence of custom, the soul of the woman became identified with her husband's, the two minds riveted to each other often made but one. How many human beings were thus deceived in these unions! How many consciences were stifled or strangled in this atmosphere of submission which, even in our own times, continues to exasperate and to annihilate so many wills and characters! Man in his turn laments being compelled to live in a tragic environment, by the side of a being bruised and morally constrained.

Who has thought of estimating the moral disturbance caused in a woman's heart by obligatory submission?

As Mme. Bernadini Sjaestedt wisely tells us: "They are forced to be frivolous because they cannot retire into themselves; volatile because they must not look their secret longing in the face; heedless because they must constantly fly from themselves."

No, marriage as it has been conceived and practised needs to be radically revised and altered in the interest of man and of woman. It is because man is dissatisfied with existing things that he thinks of their future improvement. The evil that is said of marriage will become a source of happiness in the future. Only when we desire to perfect a thing, it is not necessary that it should be destroyed; and this is the error of all too impatient or too ardent reformers.

III. Free Marriage. Whatever may be the primitive form of the sexual life, it is beyond question that contemporary marriage is its crown. While Morgan and his school assert that our forefathers, in the age of polished stone, lived in absolute promiscuity, Westermarck and his followers maintain the contrary. The latter teach that, from time immemorial, man and woman lived in families. The sociability of man, which shows itself in the form of tribes or of clans, did not come until long after. The existence of the primates, resembling man, seems to plead in favour of this thesis. Both would have been obliged, by the difficulties of obtaining food, to live in families.

When, from frugivorous beings, men became carnivorous, the situation was nearly the same. It was not until later, according to Westermarck, that under the influence of civilisation the first group of human beings, the family, was enlarged and opened its framework to

the near neighbours. Thus were born the clans, the tribes, the communities, the nations.

Complete promiscuity characterised, as Morgan tells us, the life of our prehistoric ancestors, and marriage is only the fruit of progress and civilisation. Which of these two schools expresses the truth?

Let us lay aside this somewhat futile quarrel. Its results are of little importance. Both theories, whatever may be their premises, furnish, from the sociological standpoint, the same assurance. The family group, the first germ of marriage, and the promiscuity of the primitive ages, in developing through the centuries, have finally ended in the same result; that is, the shaping of the marriage of our own day.

Religions and social exigencies cause, it is true, a variation of the forms and the duties. By taking little heed of the realities of life, the weakness of human beings, the adversities of fate, the changes which our souls undergo, the legislators and the churches have rendered marriage indissoluble. But humanity has progressed, and its need of liberty is invincible. Our individuality rebels against the fetters imposed upon its life and its moral development. Human law desires the maximum of individual liberty; but as we cannot live outside of society, this liberty should not be permitted to break the boundaries of social life, of our native country, of the State. When there occurs a conflict between these two entities, the individual must bow to the community of interests which, moreover, contains his own safety.

In marriage, as well as in the political domain, man is striving to realise harmony between his individual inclinations and the interests of society. In this way,

there are necessities before which the revolutionists of marriage will forever remain powerless.

Divorce can be extended. This was formerly contrary both to divine and to human laws. Gradually, the legislator has introduced into it some essential accommodations and the churches some genuine comforts. The husband and the wife can escape more and more easily from the yoke imposed upon them by marriage. With the object of respecting human personality and its aims, the couple are permitted to separate when they discover the moral impossibility of continuing their life together. Divorce, by the distinctly expressed wish of the couple, will soon become the general law of all civilised countries. Completed by divorce secured, under certain conditions, at the request of one of the couple, marriage will conform to the exigencies of modern humanity.

Let us pass over the points at issue. We have no desire to analyse the controversies pending between the partisans of the more or less enlarged grounds for divorce. The important matter is to prove that the greatest facilities for divorce will not destroy the necessity of marriage, which will never vanish in unions left to the absolute discretion of the contracting parties. The triumph of these unions could result only to the detriment of woman; for her, marriage is still the supreme safeguard.

As nature has imposed upon woman burdens far more heavy than those of man, it would be utterly unjust to grant the two sexes a quasi-equality of duties and of rights. In such a combination, woman could only lose. The liabilities which maternity creates for her, and the duties which proceed from this, would always place

her in a position of inferiority with regard to man. Free union, such as the pretended friends of woman covet, would be for the exclusive benefit of man.

IV. The Anarchists and the Socialists Against Marriage. Few social institutions of our times are so decried as marriage. People who are attached to the past, while deploring the assaults which it has not ceased and will not cease to undergo, regard it as a caricature of a dying ideal. Minds turned toward reforms reproach it for not bending sufficiently to their requirements. The revolutionists, still more impatient, upbraid it for continuing to live and thus placing itself athwart the social and moral revolution of their dreams. And all, maintaining this argument, imagine that they are speaking for the honour and in the interest of woman.

Let us omit the lovers of the past. All that we have said previously is the best reply to the idyl of the marriages of former days which the religions and the laws, having joined hands, had succeeded in rendering, by different methods, equally prejudicial to woman and to man. The return backward is no longer possible. The victories stolen from woman's servility will remain, and these can only increase with time.

The perils threatening marriage emanate chiefly from the advanced parties. Socialists, communists, anarchists, or revolutionists are all striving to undermine its foundations and to oppose to it modes of life intended first to destroy and afterward to replace it. Let us glance over the vast scale of criticisms which well-intentioned minds, commencing with the socialists and ending with the communists and the anarchists, oppose to the essential principles of marriage.

The objections which have come from this direction have chiefly in view the invincible support which marriage lends to property. The bonds which it creates between the members of the family find their logical expression in the inheritance of possessions. It maintains the existence of the classes which have means and, indirectly, develops conservative interests.

Let us follow their argument. Dangerous from the social standpoint, marriage is based, they tell us, upon a false principle from the psychological standpoint. Is not the marriage which shuts our feelings within legal boundaries in flagrant contradiction with the needs of our hearts, with our sensibility which, ever awake, demands continual changes and will not permit itself to be fettered by the articles of the Code or by the clauses of a contract? Then why impose upon the husband and the wife obligations that are impossible and contradictory to human nature?

Love, for that very cause, will not be corrupted. Marriage is founded chiefly upon material interests. The suitability of the families, or the desire for competency and comfort on the part of the married couple, constitutes its law. Sexual selection, intended to operate for the benefit of the best and the strongest, from the moral and physical standpoint, thus becomes unrealisable. The human race is degraded. Sexual affection, driven from the bounds of marriage, debased and prostituted by interest, assumes every form save that of love. Marriage is only prostitution organised with the aid of the State. . . . The natural children, who are preeminently the fruits of love, are despised and abandoned. Money becomes the supreme aw of life and, cemented and fortified by marriage, which depends

principally upon money, modern society, powerful and vicious, is maintained.

In all this what becomes of woman?

According to the scorners of marriage, she simply sells herself to the man or buys herself a husband. In both cases, the law offers her, in exchange for an often imaginary support, a state of servitude for the duration of the marriage. The matrimonial contract is only a contract of sale or of purchase, a "special and respected form of prostitution," as it is defined by one of the most eloquent among the anarchist writers, M. Sébastien Faure. Certain socialists affirm the same thing, but in a more softened manner. Benoit Malon, one of the theorists of the party, enumerates such a number of serious grievances of marriage that the latter is made to appear even more criminal than capital itself.

The implacable logic of the doctrinaires of marriage does not even stop at its distortion, free union. For what is this free union, if not an almost equal imprisonment of our feelings?

"Free unions," says Sébastien Faure,[1] "are in fact only genuine marriages which lack the civil and religious sanction; for cohabitation, community of interests, settled habits and especially the birth of children, through the responsibilities and the duties imposed upon the parents, create in time between these parents moral bonds quite as strong as the chains forged by the law and the Church."

So no more restrictions of any kind. No marriage, but also no free union. We shall meet haphazard or at the pleasure of our sexual appetites. We shall not even be bound, we shall be paired. And we shall re-

[1] *Douleur universelle*, Universal Suffering.

main together afterward as long as our hearts, or rather one of the hearts, more impatient, permits. The one who wearies will go first, leaving the other a prey to all sorts of sufferings. And sickness and the child that is about to come into the world, and will come sooner or later? As the instincts of man are more variable, as no chain will hold him at the fireside longer than a few days or a few years, it will be the woman who must endure all the consequences of these transitory connections. He, free as a bird, will take his liberty and its charms at the pleasure of his sexual fancy. Since kind nature allows him to give proof of his ardour to thousands of women, doubtless he will not deprive himself of this privilege associated with extreme joys. Once launched upon this course, nothing will stop him. Sexual promiscuity will ensue to a degree undoubtedly unknown in the most savage phase of the human race. And for the woman, also, misfortunes will result, misfortunes whose magnitude terrifies the boldest imagination. Thus the total liberation of our passions from all fetters could result only in still greater slavery for woman.

V. Love Opposed to Marriage. The institution of marriage has moreover to combat a danger that is serious in a different way. This proceeds from the men and the women who desire to substitute for it love. It is enough merely to wave this banner, and we gain at once the sympathy of all the proud or tender souls who maintain the indefeasible rights of their individuality or the independence of their feelings. Behind the magic word *love*, the various dangers with which his reign menaces us vanish. It intoxicates first all those who

laud its beauty. We know the case of Ellen Key, a woman admirable in the extreme, who battles so valiantly and with so incisive a talent for the rights of the individual. She has not only had the courage to attack the egotism of men, but also the still greater bravery to combat certain feminine exaggerations. But having put the word *love* in the van, she has been its first victim. By seeking to substitute love for duty, she proposes to sacrifice to it the real happiness of the women the vast majority of whom are incapable of inspiring and living upon the foundation of love. Vainly has Miss Key exalted love; vainly has she told us that the complete and harmonious love of the senses and of the soul will render man and woman pure and sublime. She does not take into account sufficiently that by banishing duty from life, by putting inspiration in the place of law, she is throwing the door wide open to all the abuses of the senses and even to those proceeding from our souls. Ellen Key finds herself in contradiction to herself whenever she carries too far a doctrine which, alas! is not yet fitted for the human beings of the present day. "Love," she writes, "like genius, could not be a duty; both are a gift which life bestows upon the elect."[1] She maintains elsewhere that the differences between souls are as great as the geographical, climatological, historical, and economic differences between the nations. How then are we to base our whole life upon the love which, applied to such divergent souls, would give the most varied results? How are we to resolve in the presence of the powerlessness to love, which will not cease to afflict men and women? How are life and the organisation

[1] *Love and Marriage* by Ellen Key, preface by G. Monod.

of society to be made to depend upon a gift so fickle as genius? How are people to be allowed to leave each other and go peacefully in search of another great love, if they are not satisfied with the first trial? And what if the second and the third should fall short of the first?

In the beautiful preface which accompanies the work above quoted, M. Gabriel Monod says rightly that "in this mutability of loves it is the woman whom nature, as well as the maternal vocation, incites to constancy, who will be the perpetual victim."

"The object of conjugal life," asserts this eminent historian and moralist, "is common action with a view to the general utility and the creation of the family. Love is the power which best enables this object to be attained. We must live *by love* and not *for love.*"

But this idea that love must serve as the bond, foundation, essence, and crown of our entire life, is making considerable ravages in contemporary opinion. Boundless faith in the human being is so contagious that young people of all countries have followed with delight the intoxicating music of its hopes. Alas! a cruel awakening awaits these exaggerated hopes. It is good to believe in human perfectibility, for it must some day bring paradise back to earth. But it would be an error to offer to the man of the present day an ideal organisation for which he may perhaps be fitted in tens of centuries. The compass of love, in order to direct our destinies exclusively, presupposes souls moved solely by noble aspirations and by passions of angelic purity.

We need not despair of human destiny. It is leading us toward the summits, but almost imperceptibly, through ages of progress which are ever slow. We

must control sufficiently our impatience to arrive. We should not attempt to fly so long as we scarcely know how to walk. It is wise to avoid trusting our fate to aeroplanes which we do not yet know how to manage. In the sport, we should risk breaking the machines, however perfect they may be, and at the same time imperilling our future. The claims of Ellen Key in favour of the sovereignty of love, which have so profoundly thrilled the youth of the present day, are not new. France has had the rare privilege of being able to record similar claims in several phases of her history. After Saint-Just, who asserted that "those who love each other are husband and wife, and for as long a time as they continue to love," the Fourierists and many other Utopians became inflamed for the same ideal. Later George Sand wrote the most eloquent of her novels in honour of the freedom of the heart and of the senses. In these later years, we should point out the courageous campaigns conducted with extraordinary talent by Paul and Victor Margueritte, in behalf of the broadening of divorce.[1]

In truth, these are so many strokes of the pickaxe upon the ancient citadel of marriage, but far from destroying it, they are merely consolidating and renovating the structure. For to preserve these old edifices, it is only necessary to alter their roofs and to change their girders. Beware of the men and the women who would

[1] See, among others, the works, *Quelques idées*, containing two studies upon free marriage and divorce, as well as their admirable romance, *Les deux vies*, in which the authors present and develop, with rare eloquence and nobility of feeling, these two antitheses: the religion of former times with regard to the modern individual conscience, as well as the glaring contradiction between the prejudices of the past and the judgment of the future.

fain destroy the time-honoured protection against all the woes with which we are threatened by frivolous or inconstant passion, by too versatile genius, or by the powerlessness of loving.

We need an apprenticeship of the "great love." Thanks to the evolution of our feelings, based upon more and more purified sexual relations; thanks to the dignity of our minds and of our life, which will be enhanced as mankind becomes better, we shall be able to replace the restraints of the present with the liberties of the future. Until then, so long as the human race is composed only of individuals who are incapable of applying instinctively the commands of the great love with its beauties of souls and ideal aspirations, let us not abandon the woman and the children to the hazy sentiments which may perhaps triumph in some far distant century.

Yet let us aid in the development of the ideal age by making the laws more and more free and our minds more and more pure. Let us also educate love. Let us try to diminish the part occupied in it by the desires of the senses. Let us endeavour especially to replace it by other aspirations, emanating from the community of our souls and from the higher comprehension of the entirety of life. Love will thus be greatly broadened because it will be spiritualised; it will be more solid and more lasting because it will have its root in the soul and not in the beauty of the body which changes even more rapidly than the appetites of our senses. The axis of love will be shifted. The soul will occupy the principal place, now reserved for the body. Inward stability will result. Duty will enter into harmony with the passions; our egoism will rise to the level of the

solidarity; the soul will derive infinite pleasures from the sacrifice; physical joys will be doubled by the communion of feelings and of thoughts, and our life, grown richer and more intense in profound feelings and unknown joys, will become more dignified and more serene.

The evolution of the eternal feminine, as we have previously conceived it, will facilitate this sentimental revolution which will transform the human race far more deeply than all the religions united have been able to do. For, thanks to the inward peace of our souls and of our minds, the woman and the man elevated and adorned by the new love will produce the triumph of the happiness of the community by the development of the happiness of the individual and the peace between human beings.

The courageous spirit of the socialist and anarchist reformers is the victim of another mirage created by ever-ready criticism. Shocked by the visible evils, they forget the benefits which these evils conceal. In wishing to destroy all the fetters which bar their way, they remind us of people who in despair burn their houses and then wander around under the open sky. But shelter is a necessity to the modern man. He can no longer develop under the system of the absolute caprice of his instincts or his passions, any more than in a glacial atmosphere he can walk without clothing.

VI. Love as the Product of Marriage. Marriage requires reformation, and not destruction. It is from this standpoint that its critics should be welcome. The complexity of its operation often brings it into contradiction to our whole social, political, and moral life.

Our religious conceptions, as well as our ideas of woman, or of money, liberty, and government, being altered, marriage, in its turn, must undergo the consequences of these changes. This is the sole price of its maintenance. It must become humanised with the public conscience of which it is the emanation. The advances and betterments of which it is capable are numberless. Let us compel it to accept these, in order to render its duration more solid and its action more beneficent. The happiness of both sexes, as well as the stability of the family and the future of the human race, will be the result.

The sexual boundaries in which woman is enclosed impose upon her the duty of watching over the family and preserving it for the advantage of the children. We should not forget, moreover, that the ideal love, consisting of a close harmony of the two souls, is developed only under the influence of permanent unions. Its brutal expression, incarnated in sexual attraction, has existed, doubtless, since the appearance of man upon earth. But its varied beauties could come to him only through the slow evolution of our conscience.

Love is really human and realises its full limits only in a union in which the soul mingles with the appetite of the senses. Regarded from this point of view, love has been able to perfect and to purify itself only through marriage and in marriage. Thanks to the evolution of certain acquired characteristics, our feelings, as well as our instincts, are softened and transformed. The brutality of desires is completed by an infinite need of tenderness and mutual affection. Born chiefly in marriage, this form of higher intercourse appears also outside of marriage.

We should be wrong to desire to extinguish a fire

which affords us light and heat. The day when the spring which feeds so abundantly the life of our affection should dry up, love would retreat, and again become instinct. It would descend from the heights to which the refined sentiments born under the influence of marriage and the family have led it, and be no longer anything but a brutal pairing of the sexes.

VII. Salvation by Equality. Marriage has been much slandered. Severely criticised, often calumniated, and almost always attacked, it nevertheless survives like the principles of government. What has not been said of those who rule our destinies, as well as of all the forms of government? Yet the most faulty system is better than the entire absence of control. Anarchy, like the promiscuity of the sexes, or if we prefer its softened form, free union, making and unmaking itself according to the will of one of the contracting parties, would be possible only in certain primitive societies. Mankind can no longer resume these dead forms, as it could no longer go clad in goat-skins or resign itself to live upon the products of the chase.

Marriage requires to be transformed all the more because everything around it is transformed. Woman has become a different woman, and man is becoming a new man, having other aspirations and especially a different way of regarding his companion. These abstract things escape our notice, but what we see more clearly are the concrete laws which have altered the position of the mother-woman or the mistress-woman outside of marriage which has ceased to be the only haven in which the rights of the child and the security of the wife could seek shelter.

The law now protects natural children and secures for them a legitimate safeguard. It is even moving slowly toward the protection of transitory connections. A woman seduced and deserted can sue her seducer for damages. A more serious matter is that, under present conditions, the mistress keeps certain liberties which are denied to married women. She disposes freely of her fortune, possesses full civil rights, and can release herself at will from her sentimental connection. The old law, in gliding down the slopes of modernity, finds itself in the position of a woman who, while proclaiming her rigid virtue, is ready for any compliance. It is perilous to be able to place in comparison with the servitude of the married woman the privileged situations of the women living in free unions, and it would be fatal to marriage to have this state of things prolonged.

In the impossibility of recalling the rights already granted to single women, the legislator will find himself compelled to increase those which the married women enjoy. It will be inadmissible for him not to respect this primordial condition of the marriage of the future, namely, the mutual independence of the husband and the wife. We willingly adapt ourselves to injustices which we permit, but we rebel against those imposed upon us from above. The independence of the married couple will become now the dependence of the husband, now that of the wife. Already in marriages where two choice souls are united, the principle of absolute equality triumphs. Reality, in this respect, has preceded the law. The legislator of the future will need only to take pattern by these chosen marriages which have not awaited his law, to realise in marriage more justice and more humanity.

Let us then not speak ill of marriage, but let us try, above all, to render it more perfect. Let us strive to make its action in harmony with the inclinations of our souls, and the increasing thirst for our liberty. Marriage, like the principle of government, has caused torrents of tears. Its debts are paid by millions of crushed lives and superhuman sufferings. Often it kills the liberty of one of the pair, without elevating that of the other. By chaining together two human beings who are opposites from the moral and the physiological standpoint, it imposes upon them a genuine hell upon earth.

What do all these sufferings weigh in comparison with the divine paradise that is to be realised on earth by a family acting normally upon the foundation of the mutual affection of its members? We may, therefore, continue to criticise marriage, and even to attack its results in superannuated forms; but we shall never be able to say enough of its pretensions to infallibility. Let us improve, but not destroy, the institution; and, moreover, let us not forget that, with the triumph of the principle of the equality of the two sexes, most of its venerable defects will disappear.

Marriage, purified by the principle of equality, elevated by that of justice, which will closely follow equality, will attract more lasting affection, more love, more happiness. Ennobled and broadened by the disappearance of the prejudice of sex, the improved marriage will be in harmony with the improved human race of the future. The majority of institutions, moreover, are defective solely on account of the weakness and the imperfection of those by whom they are applied.

VIII. Divorce and the New Woman. Cowardly minds tremble before the increase of the rights and the enlargement of the mentality of the new woman. In their opinions, peace and the charms of the fireside will not be able to adapt themselves to the more independent character of the wife. Equality of the sexes appears to them injurious to the stability of marriage, and they already see the number of separations and divorces follow in a mathematical progression the extension of the rights of woman. These apprehensions, theoretically false, are belied by the concrete facts borrowed from the countries the most advanced from the standpoint of the equality of the sexes.

In the State of Wyoming, where women have voted for forty years, divorces have lessened about seventy-five per cent. At the end of fifteen years of the participation of the women of New Zealand in political and social life, the number of divorces there diminished about seventy-five per cent.

Logically, the peace of households will only gain from the dignity and the mutual esteem based upon a community of higher interests which will unite the life of the husband and the wife.

C—In the Kingdom of the Fireside.

I. Its Revival. Maternity entails, in the first place, a direct or indirect obligation to remain attached to the fireside. The birth of a child brings with it the duty and the necessity of caring for it during its early years and of securing for it the education and instruction compatible with its age.

In these delicate responsibilities, man could with

difficulty replace woman. Woman, moreover, will have no interest in leaving them to him. In the society of the future, in which woman will make the laws by the same title as man, she will be able to reserve legitimate compensations which will facilitate the realisation of her delicate beneficent and inevitable mission. This will be credited to her as a double or triple service for the profit of the community. The working-woman or employee performing the duties of a mother will have the right to special advantages similar to those which society grants to soldiers engaged in colonial wars or in the defence of their native land.

It will be the woman's part to impose upon future legislation the idea of the claim that the function of maternity, with the consequences resulting from it, is in the first place a function of public preservation and deserves to be considered as such from the standpoint of the debt toward it contracted by society. The poorest mothers will thus be spared from doing any other labour during the period of nursing. The State and the parishes will take charge of the maintenance of indigent mothers, as they now care for the old and the helpless. The coming generations deserve at least the same consideration which we grant to those that are passing.

Whether the willing or the unwilling guardian of the fireside, woman must in her turn be inspired by all the improvements which science offers her to render her duties more productive, and consequently more advantageous to family life. Summoned more than man to watch over the house, it devolves upon her to care for the sanitation and the comfort of the lodging, and the food. The future will no longer address to woman

the language of Proudhon, commanding her to be either cook or prostitute. In assuming the care of directing the material life of the family, she will become a sort of engineer, architect, chemist, and physician. This is because science has progressed. It has not only given a new impulse to hygiene, but it has also transformed radically the home as well as everything concerning our material life. The culinary art itself has undergone a decisive rebound. Alimentary chemistry teaches us how to reach, with a minimum of expense, a maximum of good and healthy nutrition. The arts applied to industry teach us how to render our homes artistic as well as inexpensive, while hygiene, hovering above so many branches of various sciences, strives to utilise them all for the great purpose of rendering life pleasanter and more wholesome.

There has been a change in the kingdom of our firesides. Woman, by placing herself on the level of modern exigencies and conquests, will become a true directress of the household, instead of being simply a worker. Nor must the various dangers with which we are threatened by the progress of elementary chemistry be forgotten. At the present time, almost all our food is adulterated and altered. The laws combat very feebly the abuses which, already numerous, do not cease to augment. Placed between the interests of the producers and the consumers which are so closely interlocked with each other, the legislators try to reconcile them, to the detriment of the public health. This is because the consumers are also producers, and all are voters. Their indulgence and their vote are readily gained by transactions injurious to the health of all. The woman and the child are especially the

victims of this deplorable condition of things, undermining their health and exposing them to numberless diseases.

When we think of the poisons which we are made to swallow under the form of drinks and food, we are amazed at the solidity of our organism. In wheat flour, of which our daily bread is made, mixtures of vegetable and mineral powders often enter. The gluten forms its most nutritious portion. The normal colour is a yellowish white, but it often has a green tint (powdered peas), or even greenish black when it is adulterated with powdered vetches. Powdered kidney beans are also added, and from this the gluten becomes pink. All our foods are adulterated. Plaster, clay, or sand are added to cooking salt. As to sea-salt, it is frequently mixed with sulphate of soda or with alum. Pepper is adulterated by the fruit of the *buckthorn*, with carbonate and sulphate of lime, talc, or carbonate of lead with a solution of gum. We are sold slices of carrots or beets for roast onions; a mixture of flour, starch, and cocoa shells for chocolate; mixtures of veal fat, lard, plaster, chromate of lead, carrot juice, alum, carbonate of lead, arnatto with a basis of urine and margarine for butter. As for milk, it is poisoned before being drawn, by feeding the cows with all sorts of industrial refuse. We drink coffee in which there is no coffee, wine in which there is plaster, rosaniline, and fuchsine, which often contain arsenic, and we eat preserves in which there is no fruit.

The enumeration of all these adulterations, often most injurious to health, would require whole volumes. We tolerate or ignore them. But their effect is always the same—the deterioration of the public health.

Man, who declares himself superior to woman, has done almost nothing to combat this daily danger. In proportion to the progress of civilisation, the adulteration of the food commodities progresses also. Our heads droop in the presence of an evil which constantly increases. The higher cost of living, a phenomenon which has become universal, will only augment this perilous exploitation of the human organism.

The priestess of the fireside alone will be able to lessen, if not to destroy, this evil that is undermining the health of adults and children. When informed of an infallible means of discovering fraud, woman will know how to utilise such means efficiently; after having been a victim of crime she will not confine herself to lamenting. She will understand how to prevent criminal action, by controlling and guarding the purity of the foods on which the safety of her family depends.

Electress, legislatress, and directress of the fireside, she will be able to associate her knowledge with her rights, and thus to further the prosperity and the health of the families.

Man, powerless in the presence of the adulteration of food commodities, shows himself equally impotent with regard to alcoholism. Do we not see the budget of one of the largest empires in the world, such as Russia, with a population of one hundred and fifty millions, draw its principal resources from alcohol! The financial prosperity of a country maintaining itself only by means of the deterioration of the public health, such is the strange paradox which the government of the men of the present day presents for the consideration of the bisexual governments of the future. What, lastly, is to be said of France? According to the data recently

given, France alone absorbs more absinthe than all the other nations in the world together.[1] This is one of the most prominent causes of the diminution of the birth-rate in France and of the French population on the earth.

In anticipation of the glorious part reserved in the future for the guardian of the fireside, a new science is being created. This is *Home Science*, pre-eminently the science of the fireside, which the most well-balanced minds are spreading throughout all the civilised countries. Its precepts are set forth in the courses arranged in King's College at the University of London. But, in fact, under forms more or less perfected, this new science is appearing everywhere.

II. The Science of Consumption and the Science of Living. We have finally comprehended the elementary thought that the consumption and the utilisation of wealth play a part as important as that of production. What matter the accumulated millions if we use them wrongly and largely to the detriment of our happiness and our health! A more rational utilisation of products increases their yield, and therefore is equivalent to manufacture.

Production forms only one side of the question. It demands to be completed by an economical and intelligent consumption. Both must be placed upon rational foundations. A new doctrine of political

[1] It consumed 700,000 quarts in 1874, and drank *thirty-six millions* in 1910. The Frenchmen who, in 1830, drank about a quart of alcohol per inhabitant, drank four quarts and a half in 1900. While we are all lamenting, over the diminution of the birth-rate, the government, composed, however, exclusively of men, has been able to do nothing to stay the evil.

economy will teach us the equivalence of the double purpose of our labour. It is not enough merely to create, the object of the creation must be fulfilled. The entire production flows toward the large and the small fireside, the agglomerations created by the government and the inhabitants, hospitals, asylums, barracks, or to the homes of private citizens. A problem is presented of equal gravity with that of the creation of the riches: how to use them for the greatest benefit of those for whom they were intended.

A boundless field is here opened to woman, who ought, as far as possible, to monopolise the supervision of the consumption and the utilisation of wealth. This is the title by which she can watch over hygiene, on which depend our health, beauty, and comfort, the source of joys, and of the elevation of our intellectual and moral life. The aim of the science of the fireside will be to utilise the victories of all the branches of our knowledge, in order, with a minimum of effort and expense, to reach the maximum of beauty and happiness.

Woman ought to master a sort of encyclopædia of our usual knowledge, where, by the side of chemistry, culinary art will take its place; by the side of hygiene the arts applied to industry; the ideas of accounts and of physics should be completed by the history of art and of human civilisation.

The science of the fireside comprises all science passed through the filter of the beautiful and the useful for the direct use of woman and for the benefit of the two sexes and the child. This supreme science of life, having become thus the domain of woman, will procure for her all the gratifications of self-respect and all the advantages of useful and remunerative labour. Her

production inside the home will be equal to that outside of it. Her exodus toward the shops and the factories, so harmful to the species, will thereby be diminished. Directress and guardian of the fireside, she will know how to economise, and even to make the resources brought by the husband produce more inside the home than if she herself were toiling outside. She will also be able to furnish a wholesome, economical, and sensible table. By guarding the health of the family, the primordial and the most precious capital, she will render it more productive and more intelligent. Understanding the nutritive value of foods, she will choose the most wholesome and those best adapted to the labour of her relatives. The essential defect of our present nutrition consists chiefly in the fact that we spend three times more to make ourselves ill than it would require to live wholesomely.

Lastly, what is to be said of our homes? With the development of a little taste and artistic feeling, residences can easily be rendered more modest, healthful, and attractive. We know how much health contributes to the productivity of our work. Scientist, artist, or simple labourer, all are victims of lack of comprehension of the elementary principles of hygiene. Our efforts tend chiefly to make existence complex and laborious. At the end of so many centuries of civilisation, we do not yet know how to eat. Nor do we know any better how to live. But everything is linked together. A more rational hygiene, embracing the whole of our production and of our consumption, will render the human race more perfect. With our physical health, our moral health will increase. We shall be more satisfied with life and happier, from the

moment we know how we can better grasp and better enjoy its charms.

By annexing the vast empire of the fireside, woman will conquer at once a genuine power which will give her the equality so much desired even within the precincts of the family. All women may become true priestesses of life, dispensers of the physical, moral, and intellectual health of the present and the future generations. Obliged to guard the fireside as wives, loved ones, or mothers, they will remain there willingly for the various charms offered to them by the new royalty with its train of privileges, benefits, and duties.

This new character which is appearing on the horizon should rouse to enthusiasm by its infinite perspectives, for the same reasons, both men and women. Numerous facts show that the time is close at hand when the science of the fireside will become the incontestable patrimony of woman. Not because she is inferior to man, but because she is his equal, will woman complete him. It can also be said that man will complete woman. Production can be rational only if consumption is rational also. These two forms which wealth assumes in its contact with man answer to the face and the back of a coin or a medal.

On the day when the science of the fireside is established on foundations as broad as those of life, woman will exercise the powers of directress of the consumption of wealth, as man will those of the chief of production. The two functions, moreover, will often be mingled: woman may be a producer outside, as men may watch over the consumption effected at the hearthstone. But it is infinitely probable that woman will claim the kingdom of the fireside, while her companion will labour

by preference outside of the precincts of his home. He will have the department of the exterior business, she that of the interior, whose importance is primordial and equal.

The kingdom of the fireside will not aim to shut woman within her home. By its various ramifications, it will not cease to bring her in touch with the life developing in all the domains of human activity. The modern woman was right to protest against her seclusion in the bedroom or the kitchen; the woman of the future will pride herself upon being able to intervene in the entire political, social, and economic life, which all converge toward the fireside and will be wholesome by the fireside alone.

Under these conditions, woman will become the real "maker of men," for she will not only give to them birth, but she will direct their first steps, watch over their development, and aid in the establishment of their physiological, intellectual, and moral health. Her mission, extending to so many domains, will utilise all the treasures of her tenderness and her intellectuality.

Her rich and fruitful radiance will make her resemble the queen bee rather than one of the humble and unfortunate working-women who live only by the smile or the favour of their masters.

Conclusion.

I. The Future Woman. Voluminous works would be required to point out the invisible, though genuine, changes which mark the evolution of the modern woman. Yet she has not ceased to awake the passion

of man, and she still continues to be the joy and the sorrow of his life.

Vainly is her spectre waved before the terrified man. The woman of the future will doubtless lack some of the qualities which shone in her predecessor, but she has gained, and will continue to gain, unknown virtues, among others frankness and truth, which she offers us as a foretaste of her imminent transformation, and which can only render her more dear. Let the cultivation of these qualities become more and more general in her sex, and woman will be saved at the same time as man.

Unquestionably we shall have a different "femininity" but this will not be a new "masculinity." This statement has its importance. The eternal feminine is not absolute. It has changed and will not cease to change. Certain of its attributes, even, are absolutely dead, and we shall never see them again. Let us reconcile ourselves to the loss, and cast flowers before the procession of the charms and the virtues which have come to replace them. So let us await the birth of an "eternal feminine" modified by the sympathy and the joy of man.

Let us not despair. Stendhal says: "The wish to please will place feminine charms forever beyond the attacks of any education whatever."

Equality of rights will not necessarily produce an identity of man and woman. Nay, feminine dignity and self-respect require that woman should not renounce the primordial qualities which spring up in the sexual domain. We abandon our "ego" only to imitate beings who are above our "ego." If in order to imitate man, woman should cease to be woman, by that very fact she would prove that she wrongly considers

herself a being of inferior substance. The equal of man from the standpoint of intelligence, character, and will; equal to man from the standpoint of the extent and the nobility of her aspirations, woman will be able to maintain herself on the heights of her destiny only by remaining, first of all, herself.

The laws can render her the equal of man, but no human edict can make her identical with man. Here lies the source of the misunderstandings between those who admit the principle of the equality of the two sexes and the partisans of their alleged identity. The latter depreciate and degrade woman by denying or seeking to snatch from her her personality. They also alarm needlessly the red-tape spirit of the societies which take fright and start back in horror from the unrealisable nightmare of the Woman-Man. Moral and physiological identity are separated by an impassable gulf. It would be necessary to repeat the cycle of evolution from the first germ, the incalculable labour of millions of years, to remodel, in this respect, the work of nature. Equality of rights, and even equality of duties, do not exact a physical identity. Under the shelter of the same rights and the same laws, men differ like capacity and intellectual force, physical and moral.

The over-zealous friends of woman thus outstrip her own wishes and work against her interests by seeking to take from her all that constitutes her pride, her beauty, and her reason for existence. These partisans seem to forget that her physiological differentiation remains the inexhaustible source of the charms of life, as the equality of her rights constitutes the surest guarantee of her beneficent and peaceful evolution. Woman will be able, therefore, to enjoy an absolute

equality of rights with man, without ceasing to practise all the duties which the biological laws command.

She will continue to be a mother and to fulfil all the social functions imposed upon her by the highest duty of the guardian of the fireside. By retaining and even increasing her sexual charms, by cultivating the attractions of her body and of her mind, woman will perform the sweetest of her numerous tasks, that of pleasing. She will continue to make love dwell upon the earth to embellish the most dreary lives; she will illumine with the rays of poesy even the poorest, the most humiliated, lives among men.

Those women whom physiological laws or social conditions prevent from being wives or mothers, will not cease on that account to work for social happiness by the side of men, or even rising above them. And all women, mothers or daughters, rich or poor, ought to enjoy personal rights equal to those of men, involving the same advantages, the same privileges, the same salaries, the same pleasures, and the same bitternesses of the social or the political life, of the national life, or of that which is developing beyond the frontiers.

It is in this equitable division of burdens and of privileges, in this harmonious co-ordination of the efforts of both sexes, that the human race will regain and consolidate the peace of the fireside, the dignity of life, and the reasons for hope.

So let us not weep over the death of the traditional woman, but admire the renewal of her beauty, the multiplicity of the aspects of the new woman, the richness and the infinite variety of her bloom. The sincere woman, acting and thinking in behalf of the city, will replace worthily the demon woman or the ser-

vant woman, both dedicated to weakness and to falsehood. This new being is growing before our eyes, nurtured by cares and aspirations unknown to her sisters of former days. But she must have new conditions of life. Let us give these to her of our own free will in order to avoid the grievous human catastrophe which would be risked if woman is compelled to conquer them as a result of a war between the sexes, in spite of, and against, man.

II. Unlikeness in Equality. When we consider, without having reached any conclusion, the prejudices of sex, we perceive that these prejudices, after having wrought much evil, are ready to be placed in a common cemetery with so many other superstitions which have cost mankind misfortunes and tears. The legal, social, or political barriers erected between the two sexes are of no more value than those which are opposed to them from the biological or psychophysiological standpoint. The matter in question in both cases concerns simply an opposition created arbitrarily by man for the benefit of his own interests, poorly understood and still less vindicated.

Woman is equal to man. This is the essential principle evolved from our study. From the intellectual, moral, or physiological standpoint nothing authorises their gradation. The "stronger sex" is no stronger than the other. The differences proved are merely the results of the special conditions in which they develop. There are no implacable organic conditions which could impose upon the woman a weaker mentality, or give to the man a more robust constitution.

The great physiological function, maternity, which

separates the two sexes, renders them to a certain extent unlike, but not inferior to each other. *Unlikeness in equality*, this is the foundation of the entire sexual policy. Woman has the right to require, and man has the duty to grant her, the same social or political rights. Harmony between the members of the entire human race, and their progress toward greater happiness, will be the first result.

Woman no longer desires to be deified, she wishes to be respected as the equal of man. The disturbing words, which we perhaps unjustly give to Jesus at the marriage of Cana: "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" are no longer admissible in our days. Man, having compelled woman to enter the factory, to embrace the liberal professions, to work for a living, and to endure the inconsistencies of his laws as well as the misdeeds of national and international life, can no longer decently treat her as a goddess or a slave, hovering above or below his orbit. The enlargement of woman's work necessitates the enlargement of her rights. It does not depend upon the will of man to force her to return to her gynæceum. Henceforth she must walk at his side, toward the same goal, at the risk of compromising and paralysing their mutual efforts.

Feminism, with all its demands, reduces itself to the co-operation of the two sexes for the benefit of their interests, which have become more and more identical. Economic, civil, family, social, or political, all the feminisms meet and are summed up in the equality of treatment of woman and of man. Every career must be opened to woman and, if nature has reared for her impassable barriers, let us be convinced in advance that she will not cross them.

Yet in the long years closer must they grow;
The man be more of woman, she of man;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind;
Till at the last she set herself to man,
Like perfect music unto noble words.

The aggrandisement of woman means that our own life will be broader, more intense, more divine. The source of our decline lies frequently not in our own feelings but in those who are their objects.

Marriage, that intimate union of two human beings, in itself is sublime. It is only the husband or the wife, and often both, who render it odious. Saint Thérèse is only Héloise turned toward heaven. The same passion which makes debauchees and criminals fills with sanctity the lives of thousands of men. The virtue of a creed depends chiefly upon those by whom it is practised.

Woman having been changed by her enlarged labour and duties, her deepened thoughts, her aspirations filled with serious human cares, will in her turn render the life of man more worthy, more attractive, more beautiful, and more noble. The impulse which will facilitate this ascent of woman is that of man himself. By the side of the new woman, stands the new man. Her brightening dawn is breaking through the mists of a long and gloomy night. Everything speaks of her approaching advent. Thoughts and deeds of social kindness already precede it, as a joyous melody heralds the wedding procession.

III. Toward the Future. Wearied of life and despairing of his happiness, man often pauses by the wayside and thinks of his lost years. Before him defiles his past filled with disappointments and troubles. The social status in which he lived, the political conditions which surrounded him, the conflicts in which he has participated, everything seems to him disgusting or unfair, without object or reason. A long theory of the ills from which his fellow-men are suffering develops before his eyes. Looking backward and gazing into a world several thousands of centuries old, he discovers everywhere the same troubles and the same misfortunes. Has man become better? Has his happiness increased? He begins to doubt progress and the goodness of the gods.

This pessimism, whose roots are so complex, shows us, however, one that is readily perceptible. It is the position allotted to woman in every age and in every land. Injustice or lack of comprehension, what does it matter! When two beings are compelled to pursue life together, they must remain united by the bonds of equality, esteem, and love. Each must be able to give the extent of his worth and the contents of his soul. All oppression of one by the other can only undermine efforts and prevent the harmonious walk toward the final goal. When one half of the human race is suffering through injustice, the oppressors are rendered unhappy by the wretchedness they are sowing around them. When one portion of the organism is injured, the whole organism feels the effects. A change in the condition of woman will improve and render man himself better. For if woman bears the world, it is she also who makes the world. Man has asked her only

to be a courtesan or a mother, to be chiefly merely a dispenser of his pleasures, and her repressed existence as a human being is transformed into a source of afflictions and sufferings for man. He has forgotten that love is merely the dessert of life and that it was profoundly humiliating to reduce the relations of the two sexes to the expression of a single organ and a single instinct, while forgetting so many others which govern and constitute the life of the human race.

The future woman, with her loftier aspirations and more noble feelings; more comprehensive and, for that very reason, better qualified to complete man; more bounteous, for she will live her full life; stronger because more free, will be the great dispenser of happiness on earth. To the disabled of the present day, she is already bringing hope like that mystic goddess who sanctified all places and transformed human miseries into divine joys.

***

When Dante, wearied in his passage through Purgatory and Hades, sank down from weakness, Virgil addressed to him the sweet and soothing words: "Thou shalt see Beatrice." The poet summoned his strength and walked joyously through the valleys of sufferings and tears.

Abandoned by Virgil, he at last finds his beloved. The poet no longer suffers from his past, but he dares not look at her whom he should have cherished solely. . . .

"Upon what brows hast thou found better guides toward goodness?" she asks him. "For thy punish-

ment look upon me, and let my new beauty make thee blush for what thou hast pursued."

Then their journey through the heavenly paradise begins.

The new woman, moving toward the heights which attract her, is the Beatrice awaited for centuries. She will restore at last to the human race the harmony between the sexes so seriously compromised, the peace between the nations so ardently desired, and the happiness so long expected.

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